# The Nation.

February 27, 1989 $1.75 U.S./$2.25 Canada



DIPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
East Orange, NJ 07019

FEB 15

PERIODICALS DEPARTMENT


EDITORIAL

## PINKO PIX BOFFO AT B.O.

Recently Cannon Entertainment announced that it would produce a new action-adventure movie called *Delta Force II—Stranglehold*, starring Chuck Norris. The flick will show an elite U.S. fighting unit working with its Soviet counterpart to defeat a terrorist plot. This effort follows 1987's détente buddy picture, *Red Heat*, in which muscleman Arnold Schwarzenegger played a Moscow cop who teamed up with Chicago lawman Jim Belushi.

Not long ago, Hollywood was turning out pix like *Red Dawn*, about Commie invasions; but thanks to Mikhail Gorbachev's new classy act on the international stage and his improved human rights record, *glasnost* looks like a hot ticket. U.S. producers are racing to make Red-flag-wavers. It may be no coincidence that Gorbachev's biggest boost in the States came from former actor Ronald Reagan, who gave good summit.

Speaking of the onetime Prez, his people are huddling with Orion on a movie version of his yet-to-be-penned memoirs. The paycheck will be in the low six figures, and Ron will play himself in the I.N.F. treaty scenes. In a countermove, Columbia has bought the film rights to Gorbachev's best seller, *Perestroika*, and has inked George C. Scott to play the Communist leader.

Colorize Ted Turner red. The TV exec is planning a remake of *Gone With the Wind*, set during the Russian Civil War. The plot will show the effects of the conflict on a White family living with loyal serfs on a southern Ukraine estate. Other projected pix: *From Britain With Love* (James Bond and K.G.B. team up to cool Cuban missile crisis), *Manhattan on the Volga* (yuppie can't find anything he wants in GUM), *Good Evening Kabul* (Red Army d.j. defects to Motown), *Follow the Fleet* (remake of *Potemkin* as shipboard musical), *The Left Stuff* (cosmonauts in Soviet space program).


**DRUG CZARS WE HAVE KNOWN**

**BALTIC FIRE UNDER WATER**
**Christopher Hitchens**

**RACE HATE ON CAMPUS**
**Jon Wiener**

**EXITING AFGHANISTAN**
**Barnett R. Rubin**

**BRITISH TV AT THE DYING OF THE LIGHT**
**Philip Green**

**KING IN CONTEXT**
**William H. Chafe**


A LETTER TO THE U.S.

## IN SALVADOR TIME WAITS FOR NO ONE

RUBÉN ZAMORA

*San Salvador*

The crisis that has gripped El Salvador for the past decade is reaching convulsive proportions as the country approaches its March 19 presidential election. At the same time, U.S. policy is at a dead end. Since 1983, the United States and its Salvadoran allies have tried to achieve their aims with a strategy of "low-intensity conflict," or what the Pentagon people call "total war at the grass-roots level." The assault has taken place on four fronts simultaneously: military, economic, social and political. But today it seems clear to me that the strategy has failed in all these areas.

At the military level, the objective was to contain and isolate the insurgent forces, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. But those forces have not been contained. On the contrary, they have spread throughout the country. Three or four years ago, there was virtually no military activity by the F.M.L.N. in western El Salvador. Today there is stepped-up military activity there, as well as in provinces like Cabañas, La Paz, the southern part of Cuscatlán and La Libertad. By opening new theaters of operation, the F.M.L.N. has been expanding not only in geographical but in social terms. Its strategy over the past four years has taken its forces closer to the population, among whom the guerrillas now have much greater influence and support. In 1983 the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador talked of ending the conflict within three to four years. Six years later they speak of another ten years of continuing war.


(*Continued on Page 270*)



14006 09 0 377535 6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LETTERS.

## GRASS-ROOTS GUATEMALA

*Washington*

Penny Lernoux's November 28 article, "Guatemala's New Military Order," missed the story. Today's Guatemala, as described by Lernoux, is certainly a permanent counterinsurgency state. That is not new. But what she failed to note is the re-emerging popular movement that daily challenges the army. I visited Guatemala in September and interviewed grass-roots union, Indian, student and human rights leaders. I found people mobilizing again, willing to risk their lives even after the genocidal practices of the army from 1978 to 1983, the worst repression in modern Guatemalan history. Although fear permeates the society, the evident courageousness and hopefulness of these activists is the real story. Examples abound.

One such group, the Center for Investigation, Study and Promotion of Human Rights, established in October 1987, has held three public conferences at which widows and others have testified to army abuses. It has sponsored numerous seminars on human rights for unions and for peasant and student groups. It has established committees in eight departments to monitor security forces. When I asked Factor Mendez, the group's director, how it was possible to organize such committees, he said, rather surprised himself, that volunteers stepped forward.

A new, mostly indigenous human rights group, the Council of Ethnic Communities—Everybody Equal (CERJ), formed in July, has publicly protested forced participation in the army-run civil patrols. Despite the killing of one member and the disappearance of another, CERJ continues to organize against the patrols.

A new national body of Indian widows, Conavigua, formed in September, has demanded economic redress. The Mutual Support Group (GAM) continues to pressure the government to account for its members' disappeared relatives, and recently began the dangerous work of exhuming bodies in clandestine cemeteries.

The eleven-month-old Unity of Labor and Popular Action (UASP) unites most private and public unions, university students and indigenous peasants of the semiclandestine Committee for Peasant Unity. Although UASP has not won its main demands, it has shown impressive strength, mobilizing 50,000 people on a number of occasions, in the largest demonstrations since 1980. It is the dynamic center of grass-roots opposition to the government's economic austerity program and repressive tactics.

Shortcomings exist in the popular movement—inexperienced leadership, little ideological cohesion and no solid unity. The popular movement has far to go, but the seeds of positive change have been planted and are evident.

Even the guerrilla struggle is far different from Lernoux's account. The army was not able to "destroy . . . most of the guerrillas' military organizations." When the army launched its campaign to destroy the civilian base of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) in 1982, it severely weakened the overextended guerrillas but failed to defeat them. This led the URNG to regroup and concentrate its fighters in three main zones: the Petén, Ixcán and Quiche, and Solola and San Marcos. Today guerrilla activity, with significantly improved military capacity, is at its highest level since the period 1981-82.

The army's last two major offensives failed: the June 1987 campaign in Solola and the September 1988–February 1989 campaign in the Ixcán. URNG combatants could not be driven from the region despite the largest offensive since 1982. The army maintains the initiative in the war, but it has hardly crushed the guerrillas.

The army did succeed in destroying a lot of the revolutionary movement's civilian base in the early 1980s. But hundreds of thousands of people had their consciousness raised during the 1970s and 1980s, and they now understand the means necessary, through popular mobilization, to solve many of their problems. It may be dangerous in today's Guatemala, but that has not stopped people from hoping or from organizing. *Bob Stix*

*National Coordinator*
*Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (Nisgua)*

## UNDER THE VOLCANO

*San Francisco*

Penny Lernoux's article on "Guatemala's New Military Order" is beautifully written and accurate on many counts, but it paints a very incomplete picture. Fortunately for 8.5 million Guatemalans, the image of a victorious army and a terrorized Indian population oversimplifies a complex, fast-changing reality. Unfortunately for *Nation* readers, Lernoux's incomplete picture can lead to some questionable conclusions. I base these comments on having studied Guatemala since 1967 and having spent several months there in 1987 and 1988, most recently in October.

If Lernoux has been in Guatemala since mid-1988, how could she have missed the explosive social ferment in the cities, fueled by an out-of-control economic crisis? In recent months labor and popular organizations have staged massive demonstrations (I attended several involving up to 40,000 people) as well as work stoppages and strikes. Beyond economic desperation, there is also a consciously political motivation: to provide a popular counterpressure on the Cerezo government at a time when it is daily caving in to demands from ultraright forces.

Lernoux asserts that the slum dwellers of El Mexquital "don't expect much." But many of these people have in the past risked their lives to fight for something better, and today, despite the traumas of the last ten years, they are taking advantage of even the most minimal political opening to make new demands. Lernoux concludes, correctly, that Guatemala's tragedy seems "endless" but she misses a major reason for the endless repression, which is the endless challenge from below and the resilience of Guatemala's popular and revolutionary movements.

To explain the indisputable power of the army, Lernoux cites the Anderson/Simon thesis of "permanent counterinsurgency." While this thesis does make a serious contribution to understanding the sophistication of the Guatemalan military, it is overly deterministic. The fact that the army publicly projects itself as invincible (and now as legitimate, to boot) does not make it so. Despite years of extreme violence, and despite its domination of the civilian government today, the army has failed to "pacify" the country or end the insurgency.

These points have implications far beyond Guatemala. There is a need for a major discussion concerning the historical limits of the counterinsurgency state—i.e., the new challenges that even the most repressive state apparatus has been unable to squelch. Such a discussion will be central to understanding events in the Third World from El Salvador to Israel to South Africa to the Philippines, and the Guatemala experience will be central to that discussion.

Thirty years of raging civil war in Guatemala, following the C.I.A.'s intervention there in 1954, have taken up to 200,000 civilian lives. Yet Guatemala stands as living testimony that so long as the gross social inequities giving rise to insurgent movements remain unresolved those movements will be reborn as often as they are "defeated."

Finally, in regard to Lernoux's brief, searing remarks about the guerrilla organization E.G.P.: Without a doubt, three decades of guerrilla experience have entailed serious errors and taught painful lessons. Those errors are the subject of profound debates and reassessments by members and former members of the E.G.P. and of Guatemala's other guerrilla organizations, as well as by outside observers. Precisely because these issues are of such import, however, they deserve more serious, as well as better documented, discussion than they have been given by Lernoux.

*Susanne Jonas*

## LERNOUX REPLIES

*Bogotá, Colombia*

As the title indicated, my article dealt with the emergence of a more sophisticated military model in Guatemala, not with popular movements. While it is true that previous

*(Continued on Page 284)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CONTENTS.

Volume 248, Number 8

LETTERS
254

EDITORIALS
253 Pinko Pix Boffo at B.O.
255 Wright Turn
256 Policy Circles *George Black*
257 L.B.O. Vapors *Doug Henwood*
258 Drug Czars We Have Known

COLUMNS
259 Minority Report *Christopher Hitchens*

ARTICLES
253 A Letter to the U.S.: In Salvador Time Waits for No One *Rubén Zamora*
260 Reagan's Children: Racial Hatred on Campus *Jon Wiener*
264 Cantering Down a Dark Defile: Afghanistan's Uncertain Fate *Barnett R. Rubin*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
274 Down the Tubes in London *Philip Green*
277 Branch: Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963 *William H. Chafe*
279 Davis: Women, Culture, and Politics *Jackie Stevens*
281 Theater *Thomas M. Disch*
282 Music *Gene Santoro*

Drawings by Frances Jetter

*Editor*, Victor Navasky

*Executive Editor*, Richard Pollak; *Associate Editors*, George Black, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editors*, Micah L. Sifry, Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Acting Literary Editor*, Elsa Dixler; *Assistant Literary Editor*, Julie Abraham; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Managing Editor*, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Research Director*, Vania Del Borgo; *Copy Chief*, Art Winslow; *Assistant Copy Editors*, Judith Long, Tracy Tullis; *Assistant to the Editor*, Dennis Selby; *Interns*, Stephen Doherty, Tara Dooley, Jill Hamburg, Cara Letofsky, Edward Miliband, Richard McKerrow, Scott R. Shaeffer, Paul Singer (Washington). *On leave*, Richard Lingeman.

*Departments: Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance*, Mindy Aloff; *Fiction*, John Leonard; *Lingo*, Jim Quinn; *Music*, David Hamilton, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Theater*, Thomas M. Disch, Moira Hodgson; *Bureaus: Washington, D.C.*, Jefferson Morley and David Corn, *editors*; *Latin America*, Penny Lernoux; *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *United Kingdom*, E.P. Thompson; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Christopher Hitchens (*Minority Report*), Stuart Klawans (*The Small Time*), Edward Sorel. *Contributing Editors:* Kai Bird, Elsa Dixler, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, Katha Pollitt, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Herman Schwartz, Michael Thomas, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener. *Editorial Board:* Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins.

*Manuscripts:* **The magazine cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.**

*Publisher*, Arthur L. Carter

*President and Associate Publisher*, David Parker; *General Manager*, Neil Black; *Advertising Director*, Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers*, Tanveer Mall, Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director*, Margaret Pyle; *Subscription Manager*, Cookee V. Klein; *Publicity Director*, Sarah Perl; *Director, Nation Books*, Elsa Dixler; *Assistant Advertising Manager*, Eamonn Fitzgerald; *Receptionist*, Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Production*, Terry Miller; *Typography*, Randall Cherry, Sandy McCroskey; *Nation Associates Director*, Sandra Zickefoose; *Syndication*, Jeff Sorensen; *Newsstand Sales Manager*, Jay Pearsall; *Special Projects Director*, Peter G. Meyer.

*The Nation* (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $36; two years, $64. Add $14 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. This issue went to press on February 9.

# EDITORIALS.

## Wright Turn

Leave it to House Speaker Jim Wright to subvert a key constitutional matter with a political horse trade. In what Wright termed a "good faith" gesture, he recently postponed indefinitely House action on legislation that would have required the President to report the approval of any covert intelligence operation to Congress within forty-eight hours.

Wright, dogged by an ethics investigation and reeling from his clumsy handling of the pay raise battle, offered his honeymoon gift to President Bush after an hourlong meeting with Secretary of State James Baker 3d. Wright said that Baker assured him Bush will abide by the letter and spirit of the current law, which requires the President to give notice of covert actions "in a timely fashion." Reagan waited more than ten months to inform Congress of his arms sales to Iran, a "timely fashion" interpretation that angered many members. The Reagan Justice Department defended his liberal reading of the phrase, concluding that the wording "should be construed to leave the President wide discretion."

This was too much to bear for members of the Senate and House Intelligence Committees. In 1987, William Cohen, a Republican who had served on the Senate's Iran/*contra* committee, introduced a measure that would strengthen Congressional oversight of covert activities. Two of the most influential Democratic Senators on intelligence issues,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

David Boren, chair of the Intelligence Committee, and Daniel Inouye, chair of the joint Iran/*contra* committee, supported Cohen. Not only did Cohen's bill include the forty-eight-hour-notice provision, it prohibited the President from retroactively approving covert actions, as Reagan had done during the Iran initiative; required that a presidential finding, the document the President signs when he authorizes a secret operation, be more specific; and banned the approval of secret actions that are contrary to publicly stated U.S. policy.

Moderate as it was, Cohen's package drew the sharp fire of the military-intelligence establishment. Frank Carlucci, then Secretary of Defense, testified against it. So did Brent Scowcroft, who is now Bush's national security adviser. Director of Central Intelligence William Webster said the legislation was not needed, since Reagan had improved procedures on his own.

In essence, Webster said, "Trust us." Some members responded, Trust, yes, but verify. Representative Louis Stokes, then chair of the House Intelligence Committee, noted last year that, after Watergate, Congress was told that Richard Nixon's fate would preclude any future President from withholding notice of covert action, that "it was better to proceed on the basis of an expectation of trust, rather than pursuant to a strict statute. . . . As Yogi Berra said, 'It's *déjà vu* all over again.'" Cohen has warned that Congress "cannot rely solely upon the Executive's commitments to comity and to promises of cooperation."

Yet that's what Wright intends to do. It's time "to start afresh and act on a mutual assumption of good faith," he said. But the Speaker has more on his mind than just being a good neighbor. Last year, after the Senate passed Cohen's bill, Wright pulled the House version from the calendar. This when he was under fire for speaking publicly about C.I.A. support of the domestic opposition in Nicaragua. Republican members had assailed him for leaking classified information, and the House Ethics Committee is still examining Wright's comments. Keeping the covert action bill hidden will help Wright avoid another assault.

Wright's announcement came as a surprise to Cohen, who is not willing to drop the issue. But he too now speaks in more accommodating tones. If Bush promises to give either prior notice, or in "exceptional circumstances" notice within forty-eight hours, Cohen says, then there is no need for legislation. Cohen's current offer may be more in tune with the less confrontational atmosphere of Bush's Washington, but it contradicts his previous comity-is-not-enough stand. If that's what he and Congress settle for, it will indeed be *déjà vu* all over again.

# Policy Circles

"Speak Spanish like a diplomat," reads an ad that runs frequently in *The Nation*. Some diplomats, perhaps, but not Bernie Aronson. The Bush Administration's nominee to succeed Elliott Abrams as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs speaks not a word of that language and, by all accounts, wouldn't know the difference between a debt-equity swap and a coca field. His sole claim to familiarity with Latin American issues, in fact, is his membership in a group of formerly liberal apostates known as the Gang of Four (the other three being Robert Leiken, Bruce Cameron and Penn Kemble), who acted as Ollie North's messenger boys to the Democratic side of the aisle.

Ironically, aides to Senator Jesse Helms were the first people lucid enough to point out the obvious—which is that Aronson is painfully ill equipped to deal with the range of issues that awaits the Administration in Latin America. What intellectual leadership is Bernie Aronson supposed to offer on the Brazilian and Mexican debts? the destruction of the Amazon rain forest? the centrifugal forces tearing apart societies like Peru's and Colombia's? the menace to civilian authority in Argentina and Uruguay? or the epidemic power of the narco-oligarchy, whose latest manifestation is the seizure of Paraguay by a general reportedly knee-deep in drug money?

Not to worry, say Aronson's backers, he's a quick study—not in itself a reassuring thought, since quick studies tend to wreak havoc in the complicated world of foreign policy. Above all, the Administration is stressing his reputation as the consummate beltway insider, a man who can be trusted to speak the language of bipartisan consensus. Leave aside for the moment the fact that his bipartisan credentials are somewhat tarnished by his authorship of a speech by Reagan in June 1986 appealing for *contra* aid. Aronson's passion for the *contras* is something of a red herring. His arrival on the scene doesn't herald their resurgence—the real message behind his appointment is much more bleak. The Reagan Administration saddled Washington with its Nicaragua obsession; with the choice of Aronson, Secretary of State James Baker 3d once again uses that tiny country as the prism through which all policy is viewed, subordinating the growing crisis in the rest of the hemisphere to the metaphysics of bipartisanship on Capitol Hill.

No situation is more urgent than El Salvador's. And as Rubén Zamora points out in this week's cover article, the United States has no idea whatsoever how to proceed there. Where diplomacy of high seriousness is called for, an element of high farce has already begun to intrude in the form of Dan Quayle. Dispatching the inane Quayle for three days to Venezuela and El Salvador can only have communicated to Latin Americans a stunning lack of gravity. After Quayle's ten-hour stopover in San Salvador, much was made by the Administration and the press of his forthright assertion of the primacy of human rights in U.S. policy. But pushing human rights without placing conditions on aid, which Quayle explicitly ruled out, is a pious abstraction, rather like preaching safe sex without condoms.

El Salvador demands more. As long as U.S. policy-makers merely continue to shuffle their existing pieces around the chessboard—the Christian Democrats, the army and the far right—they will be stymied. The Duarte government, circa 1985, was the best result this strategy could achieve, and its moment is long past. Now the only possible way of improving the situation is a serious opening to the left, which is why

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front's new peace proposal, unveiled in Mexico City on January 24, is so timely. Pointing to what it calls a "new international climate favorable to negotiated solutions," the F.M.L.N. proposed a six-month postponement of the elections now planned for March 19. The rebels, for their part, would then ask their followers to vote for the candidates of the Democratic Convergence—of which Rubén Zamora is general coordinator—and abide by the results of a later vote. On February 7 the F.M.L.N. added that it would observe a sixty-day cease-fire if the elections were delayed until September.

The United States and Duarte's ruling party have both given partial, if contradictory, encouragement to the F.M.L.N. plan, Washington being initially receptive and then cooling, the Christian Democrats doing the reverse. But it is unlikely that the March election will be postponed: Roberto d'Aubuisson and the ultrarightists of Arena, who stand to win an early vote, will see no advantage in a delay, and they hold effective veto power over the proceedings. The Democrats in Congress, to whom the F.M.L.N. proposal is implicitly addressed, may then become the wild card. If they are tempted to give peace a chance, the bipartisan policy of the past five years goes out the window, and El Salvador could become the Bush Administration's Nicaragua. At that point, Bernie Aronson's skill at working the Hill may come in handy after all. GEORGE BLACK

# L.B.O. Vapors

Recent events nourish the feeling that the decade's binge of leveraged buyouts is entering its end-game stage. The gargantuan RJR Nabisco deal made even Wall Street dizzy, and high rollers in droves began sniffing smelling salts after Drexel Burnham Lambert pleaded guilty to securities fraud last year. Drexel's buyout genius, Michael Milken, now facing indictment for stock manipulation and myriad other charges, has perhaps the most serious case of the vapors.

Leveraged buyouts (L.B.O.s) have their roots in the 1970s, when investment boutiques like Kohlberg, Kravis and Roberts (K.K.R.) discovered that smallish, old-line industrial outfits could be bought cheaply (mainly with borrowed money), slimmed down and eventually resold at a smart profit. Respectable Wall Street found these maneuvers a little shady at first, but the huge returns earned by K.K.R. and other firms gradually turned skepticism into manic enthusiasm.

What really sent the L.B.O. movement into high gear was Milken's discovery of unknown virtues inherent in "junk bonds," the low-rated, risky paper shunned by conservative investors. Milken discovered that far fewer of these bonds actually defaulted than their reputation suggested, so junk investors could claim significantly higher rewards with only modest increases in risk. If that had been the extent of Milken's contributions to financial science, he might have earned himself a spot in Mammon's Pantheon and little more. But in the early 1980s, Milken realized that you could issue junk bonds to fund corporate takeovers.

Operating from an X-shaped desk in Drexel's Beverly Hills office, Milken issued junk bonds to finance his stable of corporate raiders, turning previously obscure operators like T. Boone Pickens, Saul Steinberg and Carl Icahn into celebrities (if not household names). K.K.R. became a client of Drexel, too, enabling it to move from obscure targets in the industrial heartland to blue-chip prey like Beatrice Foods and RJR Nabisco.

It's tempting to blame Milken and Drexel for the entire 1980s corporate culture of paper entrepreneurship. But that's not really fair. Though Milken created the instrument and developed the network, highly respectable institutional investors—insurance companies, pension funds and the like—stumbled over one another to get a piece of the action. These institutions are in the enviable position of having far more money than they know what to do with.

Why don't they invest some of their copious funds in the productive economy, instead of looting it? Because the profits just aren't there, and when profits are lacking capital must be withdrawn. A portfolio manager for a large insurance company that invests heavily in buyouts told me that no one has ever come to him asking to finance an expansion. The logic of the buyout movement is, after all, that extra profits can be squeezed out of existing operations through the application of the lean-and-mean philosophy. In plain English, this means laying off employees, keeping down the pay of those who remain and closing plants whenever necessary. How else can the heavy debt loads be serviced? What this amounts to is the withdrawal of capital from production and its redeployment in finance.

The L.B.O. movement may have only postponed the day of economic reckoning. Corporate America is under a debt burden unprecedented in modern history. After-tax profits in the 1950s were more than twenty times annual corporate interest payments; this ratio has been declining ever since. This "interest coverage," which should rise during a business expansion, has shown no recovery from the recessionary depths of 1982. What will happen to these debt-burdened corporations in a recession is horrible to contemplate.

But Milken and Drexel aren't responsible for this. They are an unsavory lot, which makes them tantalizing fall guys, but it was a failure of government regulation that let the L.B.O. binge get out of hand. Federal Reserve chair Alan Greenspan, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and some members of Congress have been making threatening noises in recent months, but they haven't done anything substantial to stop the L.B.O. frenzy. Since banks are crucial to the functioning of the buyout business, the Fed and other bank regulators could have effectively shut down the proceedings with some sharp words and sharper regulations. Out of boundless love for the unfettered market, they chose not to. The public will suffer the consequences of their inaction. DOUG HENWOOD

*Doug Henwood is editor of* Left Business Observer *and this week joins* The Nation *as a contributing editor, to write regularly on business and finance.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Drug Czars We Have Known

William Bennett, the former Secretary of Education who was recently named "drug czar," has at least ten predecessors. These are the men who have led the nation's antidrug efforts since July 14, 1969, when President Richard Nixon first sought to eradicate "this rising sickness in our land." Over the past twenty years, the formal job titles for America's drug czars have varied widely as the U.S. government has tried time and again to delegate responsibility for the fight against drugs to one Federal official. Just who was in charge of the nation's drug policies was not always clear. Still, the exploits of those once entrusted with this heavy burden remain noteworthy, as is evident from this chart compiled by David Corn, Eric Gravley and Jefferson Morley.

| NAME | TITLE | REIGN | CLAIM TO FAME | LOST THE JOB BECAUSE | WHERE ARE THEY NOW? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Ingersoll | Director, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs | 8/68 to 6/73 | Proposed "disruptive activities," a phrase widely interpreted to mean assassination of drug kingpins | Nixon White House wanted control of the drug war | I.B.M. exec periodically "on loan" to State Department as security specialist |
| Egil (Bud) Krogh | White House aide who ran Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control | 9/71 to 11/72 | Directed the White House plumbers . . . Planned the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist . . . While on Krogh's payroll, Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt plotted to assassinate Panamanian drug traffickers | Nixon wanted a more powerful antidrug agency (See Myles Ambrose, below) | Energy lawyer in Seattle |
| Myles Ambrose | Assistant U.S. Attorney General and head of the newly created Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement | 1/72 to 5/73 | Discovered hobnobbing with Richmond Harper, an indicted gunrunner, at Harper's ranch on Texas-Mexico border | Quit in the ensuing scandal, maintaining the incident had "nothing to do with Watergate" | Washington lawyer, called by Congress as expert witness to testify in favor of National Narcotics Leadership Act of 1987 |
| John Bartels | Federal prosecutor tapped to head newly created Drug Enforcement Administration | 10/73 to 5/75 | Set up drug enforcement training program in Panama with a rising young officer named Manuel Antonio Noriega . . . Top aide seen socializing with "known gamblers and suspected drug traffickers" . . . Under his leadership D.E.A. killed investigation into $300,000 heroin deal allegedly financed by Robert Vesco | Senate investigators found he created "an environment conducive to corrupt and irregular practices and inadequate management" | Lawyer in White Plains, N.Y. |
| Henry Dogin | Career Justice Department official named Acting Administrator of D.E.A. in wake of Bartels scandal | 5/75 to 1/76 | Overhauled internal investigation procedures at D.E.A. | Was temporary appointee | Immigration and criminal lawyer in New York City |
| Peter Bensinger | Administrator, D.E.A. | 1/76 to 7/81 | Wrote to Noriega in 1978: "The professionalism of your agency is well respected by us, as is your leadership . . . [B]est wishes for a very happy and successful New Year" (a year later Noriega was asking smugglers $100,000 per planeload of marijuana shipped through Panama) | Left for private sector after cleared of charge he had used D.E.A. personnel to transport to Washington a vase he had purchased | Drug-testing consultant in Chicago |
| Dr. Peter Bourne | Director, newly created White House Office of Drug Abuse Policy | 3/77 to 7/78 | Prescribed downers for assistant who used fake name . . . Alleged to have snorted coke at party of National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws | (See Claim to Fame) | President, American Association of World Health |
| Francis (Bud) Mullen Jr. | Administrator, D.E.A. | 7/81 to 3/85 | Proudly hung an autographed photo of Noriega in his office | Criticized Vice President Bush claim to have ended marijuana trade in Florida | Unsuccessful Republican Congressional candidate in 1986; owner of an investigation agency in Connecticut |
| George Bush | Head of newly created South Florida Task Force (S.F.T.F.) and National Narcotics Border Interdiction System (NNBIS) | 3/82 to 1/89 | Ignored available intelligence on Noriega's drug trafficking . . . Claimed in 1984 to have eliminated marijuana trade in Florida . . . Did nothing when State Department *contra* aid office gave $96,961 contract to Michael Palmer, known drug trafficker . . . Sought cameo role on *Miami Vice* | Ran for higher office | President of the United States |
| Carlton Turner | Director, White House Drug Abuse Policy Office | 6/85 to 7/87 | Developed paraquat testing kit for commercial sale in 1978, noting: "We are not advocating use of marijuana, but we are realistic enough to know that certain people will use it" | Forced to quit after explaining "scientific" link between smoking marijuana and homosexuality | President, Psychiatric Diagnostic Laboratories of America, drug testing and "biopsychiatry" firm in New Jersey |
| Edwin Meese 3d | Chair, newly created National Drug Policy Board (N.D.P.B.) | 6/85 to 7/88 | Cut number of Federal prosecutors in Miami . . . Congress concluded N.D.P.B. had "failed to adequately perform" its major responsibilities, "overstated" its accomplishments and "ignored" its budget responsibilities . . . Leading advocate of "zero tolerance" drug policy | Returned to private life claiming he was "completely vindicated" on charges of ethical improprieties (not drug-related) | Distinguished Fellow, Heritage Foundation |

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

The political renaissance in the Baltic states, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, is probably the most extraordinary of the developments allowed or encouraged by the *perestroika/glasnost* revolution from above. For decades these three formerly independent republics have been the orphans of the cold war contest. More heavily Russified than any of the Warsaw Pact nations, and incorporated politically into the Soviet Union, they have been disregarded even at summits such as the one in Helsinki (with whose Finnish language Estonian has a kinship) and at most other international conclaves. When one of the aquatic events of the 1980 Moscow Olympics was staged in Tallin, for example, nobody bothered to point out that the annexation of Estonia has never been internationally recognized.

There is a good reason why recognition should have been withheld. The Soviet seizure of the Baltic states was part of the covert understanding of the Hitler-Stalin pact, a deal that marked the midnight of the century and whose full details are still emerging. (For an excellent interim study of the pact by Boris Kagarlitsky, see the admirable publication *Across Frontiers*, $10 annually from Box 2382, Berkeley, CA 94702.) The cultural obliteration, collective punishment and political stagnancy that followed the annexation were so crushing as to be thought annihilating.

Now, and very suddenly, the official media in the Baltic states are broadcasting, and denouncing, the shameful secret protocols of the Hitler-Stalin pact. National flags and emblems are openly and legally displayed. Religious and linguistic freedom is burgeoning in the context of an astonishing revival of free speech and assembly. Former political prisoners have been invited to join a new "Popular Front." You get the same sensation as you did visiting Poland eight years ago—that of watching a fire burn under water and wondering how long such an offense to the given laws can possibly continue. Unlike the Polish case, however, there is clear evidence that the impetus for change, and the necessary rebuff to the old guard, has been cautiously but definitely encouraged from Moscow.

All this sent me back to an essay published by Czeslaw Milosz in his 1953 collection *The Captive Mind*. Titled "The Lesson of the Baltics," it is a short meditation which, at the risk of embarrassment, I would not hesitate to call beautiful. It has almost exactly the same qualities as Auden's self-censored elegy for the Spanish Republic, and could be summarized, in the words of the penultimate line of that poem, as a "history to the defeated." Milosz wrote:

> It is true that I cannot stop thinking about the Baltics. Yet I can say something in my defense. Certainly, worry over the fate of nations trampled down by History—that elephant—leads nowhere, and is a proof of sentimentality. This much I grant. The rage one feels on reading sixteenth-century memoirs whose authors, mostly priests, recount the atrocities committed in America by Spanish Conquistadores is senseless. It cannot resurrect the Caribbean population slaughtered by Ponce de Leon, nor shelter the Inca refugees pursued through the mountains by knights fighting with faith and a sword. Those who have been defeated are forgotten forever.

Milosz added, rather pungently: "The civilization that calls itself Christian was built on the blood of the innocent. To be nobly indignant at those who are trying today to create another civilization by similar means is to take a somewhat pharisaic attitude." Stating it even more pungently, he went on, concerning the Stalinist concept of civilization:

> To demand that a man regard the present as he would the past without . . . worrying about trifles, that he gaze at the ripening fruits of tomorrow through the telescope of History—that is asking too much.

The eggs were broken, but the omelette was not made. Yet Marxism summons people to regard themselves as the subject, not the object, of history. Milosz (who even after 1953 was distrusted by the McCarthyites because he had once joined the Polish Communist Party) seems to have thought of the Baltic peoples as still existent but receding into the past, with the Caribs and the Incas. He was also concerned to defend a certain conception of "totalitarianism." One day he got a letter from a Baltic family "relocated" to Siberia in 1949:

> Their letter was a terse account of their work on a *kolkhoz* [collective farm]. The last letters of every line were slightly stressed, and reading vertically one made out the words "Eternal Slave".

One of the great unintentional compliments paid to Stalinism by James Burnham and other conservative theorists of the "totalitarian" model was and is the idea that it goes on *forever* and is possessed of a diabolic, grim indestructibility. (This, among other things, explains the continual popping up of Baltic Nazis in the Republican Party's "Captive Nations" periphery: a legacy of "rollback" and "fighting fire with fire.")

Was Milosz proof enough against "sentimentality" in pronouncing obsequies for the Baltics? These small nations have given astounding proof of durability and vitality. They were alive all along under the rubble and the tundra. This means either that "totalitarianism" is a failure as a system, or that it is a failure as a theory. The case for consigning the term to the dustbin is increasingly strong.

Elsewhere in *The Captive Mind*, Milosz describes *1984* as the essential novel about the totalitarian mentality. Now, in his book *Beyond Glasnost: The Post-Totalitarian Mind*, Jeffrey Goldfarb shrewdly marks the transition of Soviet society "from 1984 to Animal Farm."

To state the case in this way would be to avoid sentimentality and also its traditional obverse, which is cynicism. The Baltic resurgence, and its wider context, provide yet another counterexample to the outlook and method that have led to "free world" dependence upon the despairing addictions of nuclear weaponry, covert action and the national security state—all products of an ideological nightmare that was also generated in captive minds.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ARTICLES.

REAGAN'S CHILDREN

# Racial Hatred On Campus

JON WIENER

The Boston Red Sox had just lost the World Series to the New York Mets. At the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, hundreds of students, many of them drunk, poured out of the dorms. White Red Sox fans began shoving Mets fans who were black; soon a white mob of 3,000 was chasing and beating anyone who was black. Ten students were injured. Joseph Andrade recalls thinking, "My God, my life is being threatened here—and it's because I'm black."

The U-Mass explosion—on October 27, 1986—may be the most emblematic outbreak of student hatred of the 1980s. But it is by no means the only one. The upsurge in campus racism is the most disturbing development in university life across the nation during the past decade. More than anything, it reveals how white attitudes toward minorities have changed on campus during the Reagan years, even at institutions that historically have been bastions of liberalism.

At the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, for example, the campus radio station broadcast a call from a student who "joked": "Why do blacks always have sex on their minds? Because all their pubic hair is on their head. . . . Who are the two most famous black women in history? Aunt Jemima and Mother Fucker." At Dartmouth College, the *Dartmouth Review* attacked a black music professor, William Cole, describing him as "a cross between a welfare queen and a bathroom attendant." Then four *Review* staff members confronted Cole after a class last February and, in front of his students, apparently attempted to provoke him into a fight. Esi Eggleston, a black student who witnessed the confrontation, told PBS's *Frontline*: "That moment let me know that there are people in this world who hate you just because of your color. Not dislike you, or choose not to be friends with you, but hate you."

At the University of Wisconsin, Madison, a fraternity held a "slave auction" as part of a pledge party last October. At U.C.L.A. white and Chicano students fought on campus last spring during a student election. At Purdue, a black academic counselor found "Death Nigger" scratched on her office door. A headline in a recent issue of *The Montclarion*, the student newspaper at Montclair State College in New Jersey, read, "Attention focused on racial tension at M.S.C."

Why is all this happening now? Shelby Steele, a black associate professor of English at San Jose State University, tends to blame the victim. In the February *Harper's*, he argues that the problem on campus is not white racism but rather black "feelings of inferiority," which give rise to "an unconscious need to exaggerate the level of racism on campus—to make it a matter of the system, not just a handful of students." Instead of "demonstrating for a black 'theme house,'" Steele writes, black students "might be better off spending their time reading and studying."

Duchesne Paul Drew, a Columbia University junior who is black, offers a different explanation: "Reagan was President during the formative years of today's students." When Reagan was elected in 1980, this year's freshman class was 10 years old. Their political consciousness was formed while the White House used potent code words and attacked social programs to legitimize a subtle racism. Columbia students report that racist remarks are seldom made to blacks but frequently are heard in conversations among whites. The litany is that black people tend to be criminals, drug addicts and welfare cheats; that they don't work; and that black students aren't as smart as whites.

This, of course, is the image of blacks George Bush sought to project in his campaign to succeed Reagan. The Republicans' Willie Horton television spots suggesting that blacks are rapists and murderers played not just in living rooms but in dormitories and student centers for most of the fall semester. Undergraduate viewers may have been even more vulnerable to the Horton propaganda than was the rest of the TV audience, because most of them lacked the experience and knowledge required to challenge racist imagery—especially after eight years of Ronald Reagan.

The Reagan Administration gave its blessing to the *Dartmouth Review*, the best-known purveyor of campus racism and intolerance. The *Review* (which is not an official Dartmouth publication) boasts that several of its former staff members have gone on to prestigious jobs in Reagan's Washington: One became a speechwriter for President Reagan, another for Vice President Bush. *Review* columnist and president Keeney Jones penned a notorious racist parody, "Dis Sho Ain't No Jive Bro," that purported to quote a black student at Dartmouth: "Dese boys be sayin' that we be comin' here to Dartmut an' not takin' the classics. You know, Homa. . . ." Jones was subsequently hired as a speechwriter for Secretary of Education William Bennett. The editor who published that column, Dinesh D'Souza, went on to a career as a policy analyst in the Reagan White House.

This legitimization of racism has been accompanied by other developments. Admission to top colleges, including some public universities like the University of California, Berkeley, and U.C.L.A., has become fiercely competitive: Berkeley had 21,200 applications to its 1987 freshman class, and enrolled 3,700—14 percent. Many students with straight A averages in high school were denied admission. At the same time, some college campuses are beginning to reflect the diversity of the American population: Berkeley's incoming class in 1987 was 12 percent black, 17 percent Latino, 26 percent Asian and only 40 percent white.

*Jon Wiener, a contributing editor to* The Nation, *teaches history at the University of California, Irvine.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This new alignment comes as a shock to many white students, especially those who grew up in all-white, middle-class suburbs. Some of them respond to campus racial diversity by proclaiming that all blacks and Latinos have been admitted under affirmative action programs and thus are taking places away from "more qualified" whites. That argument is often turned around, however, as a justification for hostility toward Asians, who are criticized for being supercompetitive.

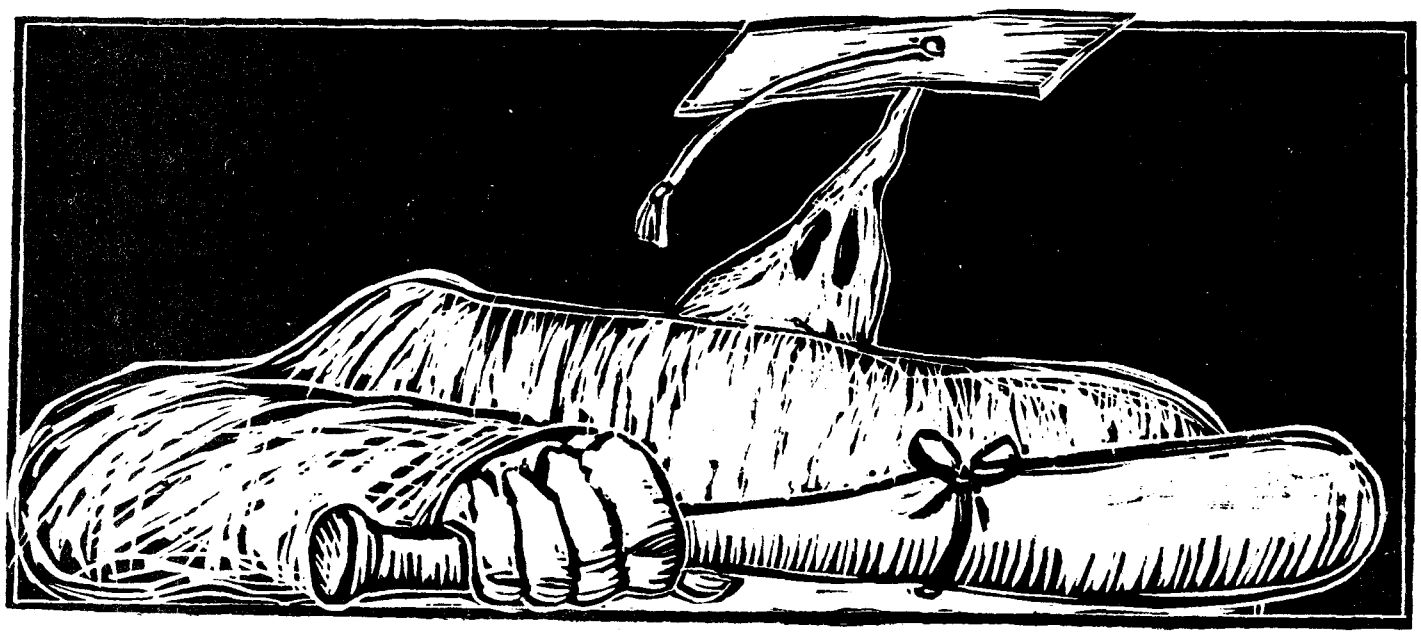
University administrators at many campuses prefer to ignore racial incidents or keep them out of the news, but antiracist student organizations have successfully focused attention on the problem. After the U-Mass incident following the World Series, campus officials at first denied that race had played any part in what the campus police termed a brawl among sports fans. That made it hard for black students to follow Shelby Steele's advice and spend their time "reading and studying." Not until students demonstrated did U-Mass Chancellor Joseph Duffey admit that his campus had a racial problem. At Penn State, eighty-nine students were arrested at a campus sit-in last April. At U-Mass a year ago, 200 students held a five-day sit-in; at Wisconsin in November 1987, 100 protesters marched outside the Phi Gamma Delta ("Fiji") fraternity house, where a racist incident had occurred, chanting, "Hey, Fijis, you can't hide, drop the sheets and come outside!" As a result of dozens of scenes like these, the student campaign against racism has provided the focus for campus politics at many colleges and universities.

Campus antiracist activists have put forward a variety of strategies. One of these identifies the problem as ignorance among white kids, many of whom grew up in isolated lily-white suburbs and need to learn about the diversity of American culture. Advocates of this approach insist that all students should take a course in ethnic studies or cultural diversity, often taught by newly hired minority faculty members. The Universities of Indiana and Minnesota each require two courses in U.S. cultural pluralism; the University of Wisconsin, Madison, has just established a one-course ethnic studies requirement and the University of California, Berkeley, is currently debating a similar measure.

Minority student organizations across the country enthusiastically support an ethnic studies requirement for graduation. Charles Holley, co-president of the Black Student Union of the Madison campus, argues that the courses teach "what minorities are all about, where we came from, what we feel." The student government officers at Berkeley, in a joint statement, declared that "students commonly graduate without reading the work of a minority author, studying under a minority professor, or having learned the vital histories of people of color. In a state that will soon have a non-white majority, such an undergraduate experience dangerously perpetuates false stereotypes."

Another strategy focuses on the empowerment of targets of violence. Much racial harassment typically goes unreported, even though it makes life miserable for minority students. When these students have their own campus centers and organizations, they don't have to suffer in isolation; they can—and increasingly do—rally their forces against their antagonists. In the aftermath of racial flare-ups minority students have frequently demanded university support for such centers. At U-Mass, participants in last winter's sit-in called on school administrators to renovate New Africa House as a cultural center for minority students.

A third strategy strives to reduce campus violence in general as a way of thwarting racial violence. Jan Sherrill, director of the Center for Study and Prevention of Campus Violence at Towson State University, in Maryland, argues that American culture condones violent means of resolving disputes as a legitimate form of male self-expression. Reagan's oft-proclaimed "values" glorified the macho response to international problems. Terrorism at a disco in Berlin? Send the Air Force to Tripoli to bomb Qaddafi. Men longed to join the President in saying, "Go ahead, make my day." A media culture of exploding cars, free-swinging cops and bone-crunching sports is reinforced by campus norms that say it's O.K. for young men to get drunk, wreck their dorm rooms and slug it out with one another. A program at Towson State's Richmond Hall has



DRAWINGS BY FRANCES JETTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

focused on reducing property damage in the dorm and violence of all kinds between students by setting strict rules and giving residents responsibility for enforcing them. As a result, there have been no racist incidents or attacks on gays or women this academic year in the dorm, which has become "a violence-free zone," according to Sherrill. It's not yet clear whether incidents elsewhere on campus will decline.

On many campuses, racism is endemic to the fraternity subculture. The house that held the slave auction at Madison last October, Zeta Beta Tau (Z.B.T.), is predominantly Jewish and had itself been a target of an attack: Members of Fiji crashed a Z.B.T. party, beat three persons and taunted them with anti-Semitic slurs. In another racist incident involving fraternities on that campus, a Kappa Sigma party in 1986 had a "Harlem Room," with white students in blackface, watermelon punch, graffiti on the walls and garbage on the floor.

Racism among fraternities is fostered by the fact that most are completely segregated, and it is exacerbated by rituals of heavy drinking on party weekends. Last November the Chancellor at Madison, Donna Shalala, established a Commission on the Future of Fraternities and Sororities, which is to recommend ways to reduce their racist and sexist behavior. The possibilities, Shalala said, range from attacking "substance abuse" as a cause of "misconduct" to elimination of the Greek system altogether.

A more problematic strategy for reducing campus racism focuses on criminalizing racist speech, which constitutes the most prevalent form of harassment. At the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, interim president Robben Fleming implemented a new code last year that allows university administrators to place on probation, suspend or expel students engaged in "discriminatory" behavior, including racist speech. Under the code, the student who told the racist "jokes" over the radio would be put on probation; if he made "other blatantly racist remarks" while on probation he could be suspended or expelled. Most of the university Regents support the code, *The Michigan Daily* reports, as do several deans and professors. But the student representatives of the University Council have denounced the proposal as a "terrible misuse of power," and the United Coalition Against Racism, a student group that has demanded university action against racial abuse, has voiced a similar sentiment.

At Madison, Z.B.T. was cleared by the student government disciplinary committee of all charges of violating university rules against racial discrimination. Committee chair Rana Mookherjee said of the fraternity's slave auction, "There is no rule you can write to eradicate bad taste and insensitivity." Many minority students expressed outrage at the decision; one was in tears. A spokesman for the Madison campus's Minority Coalition, Peter Chen, said, "By hiding behind the issue of free speech, the administration is making this campus safe for racism."

The protection of offensive speech will always cause frustration, but it nonetheless provides an important lesson in the meaning of the First Amendment. Campus leaders need not limit themselves to defending the First Amendment just because of constitutional barriers to criminalizing offensive speech, however. On the contrary, they have an obligation to speak out, forcefully and frequently, explaining why racist speech is objectionable. Chancellor Shalala did that: Although fraternity members have a First Amendment right to objectionable speech, she said, "using slavery as a basis for humor should be offensive to every American."

Donna Shalala began her term as chancellor last February by announcing the "Madison plan." It calls for the University of Wisconsin to double the number of minority undergraduates over the next five years; create 150 financial aid packages for low-income students; raise $4 million in private money to increase the scholarship endowment and another $4 million to endow twenty-five new minority graduate and professional fellowships; hire seventy new minority faculty members over the next three years, more than doubling the current number; and require ethnic studies courses in each college. In addition, the university will hire or promote 125 minority academic staff members over the next three years. Shalala has budgeted $4.7 million to implement this program over the next three years, part of which must come from new appropriations, which the Wisconsin Legislature is currently considering.

The Minority Coalition at Madison criticized the plan for failing to establish a strong racial harassment policy, an adequate multicultural center or antiracism workshops during student orientation. But the goals, the budget and the timetable make the Madison plan one of the most far-reaching attempts to overcome institutional racism undertaken by any major university. The University of Wisconsin's effort is important, among other reasons, because of the school's size: It has the fourth largest student body in the nation, numbering almost 44,000. It's especially heartening that Wisconsin is making such an extensive commitment at a time when people feel beaten down and defeated by eight years of losing battles against the Reagan White House.

Unfortunately, the promises made at Madison and at other progressive institutions to hire more black faculty run up against a major obstacle: the small pool of available black college teachers. These men and women are being intensely wooed, and Madison's recruitment successes will inevitably hurt the campaigns on other campuses. The shortage of black faculty is part of a larger problem—the declining number of blacks in higher education, from the undergraduate through the professorial ranks. Most talented black undergraduates opt for law or medicine or business over academia—and why not? The prospect of spending years as an isolated, underpaid, overworked assistant professor is not an inviting one.

The Madison plan addresses this problem in several ways: by pledging that the university will work with local high schools to improve their graduation rates; will in the future recruit twice as many minority students to its freshman class and provide them with financial support to help them stay through graduation; and will double the number of fellowships for graduate and professional schools, to encourage minority students to finish dissertations.

Defensive administrators at colleges and universities across

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# WANT TO BE A LOTTERY WINNER ?

THE LOTTERY TRUST YOU CAN

## HERE'S THE BEST CHANCE YOU'LL EVER GET.

# THE GERMAN STATE LOTTERY

GOVERNMENT W-Germany CONTROLLED

## MORE THAN ONE OUT OF EVERY THREE TICKETS IS A WINNER!

**Tickets are limited: 700,000** **Guaranteed Prizes: 280,025**

More Jack-Pots of 555,000 US$ as ever

**SUPER DRAWINGS EVERY MONTH**

NEW IMPROVED WINNING PLAN

The North-West-German-State-Lottery is the only lottery that offers extremely large prizes compared to the limited issue of only 700,000 tickets. The lottery runs over a period of 6 months, one class per month - 6 classes in all.

**NEW Over 241 Million D-Mark in prize money**

Draws are held in public each friday and are supervised by government officials. The results are published monthly in an official winning-list.

The number and the amount of prizes is fixed before the commencement of the lottery. Therefore, all tickets are in the game and each has an equal chance or winning. All prizes are paid-out in German Marks (DM), one of the most stabil currencies in the world.

Tickets can be ordered from anywhere around the globe in a half yearly subscription. We offer full (1/1) tickets, which when drawn, receive the whole prize, half tickets = half prize and quarter tickets accordingly.

The ticket-numbers are registered in your name before they are mailed, thus insuring 100% security for you in case of loss. The full-service fee is as little as DM 24.- for all 6 classes. **(Other lotteries surcharge more than 60% of the actual Lottery ticket).**

* **Monthly personalized statements of account.**
* **Instant individual and confidential notification of win.**

## SUMMARY OF PRIZES*

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 prizes of | 1,666,000 US$ |
| 2 prizes of | 1,111,000 US$ |
| 22 prizes of | 555,000 US$ |
| 6 prizes of | 277,000 US$ |
| 24 prizes of | 138,000 US$ |
| 135 prizes of | 55,500 US$ |
| 6 prizes of | 44,400 US$ |
| 11 prizes of | 41,600 US$ |
| 4 prizes of | 38,800 US$ |
| 4 prizes of | 33,300 US$ |
| 14 prizes of | 27,700 US$ |

**Plus 279,795 prizes up to US$ 22,200**

**100% Payouts**
**No withholding of winning**
**26 weekly draws with Jackpots up to 1.66 Million US$**
**Order today win tomorrow!**

Prizes are quoted in US$ for your convinience at the Rate US$ 1,- = DM 1.80 *

## GET YOUR SHARE OF 241 MILLION DM

You order your ticket on the order coupon below. Within days you receive your ticket together with an invoice and the official drawing schedule with rules and regulations.

PLEASE INCLUDE PAYMENT WITH YOUR ORDER! You can also pay for your ticket after receipt of the invoice. Payment can be made by personal check, travellers check, bank transfer (add remittance bank charge) or in cash via registered air mail (cash at your own risk).

After each month you will receive the official winning list, together with the ticket for the next class via air mail.

When your ticket is drawn, you will immediately receive a winning notification.

Your prize-money will be transfered to you by check within one week of your request. Of course, if you hit a jackpot you can come in person to collect your prize in cash.

If you are already our customer, please do not order, because you receive the ticket automatically for the next lottery.

You can be sure you will receive fast, honest and confidential service. Now it is up to you, so order and mail the coupon today. We wish you lots of luck.

**Your winning chance better than 1 in 3**

If coupon is missing, write for information.

Service Worldwide

State Accredited Lottery Agent
Lotterie-Einnahme Hameln
Miegelweg 24
D-3250 Hameln, W.-Germany

## YES, I'll try my luck and order!

**All classes (1st - 6th class) 82. Lottery beginning Mar. 31, 1989 to Sept. 22, 1989 of the Nordwestdeutsche Klassenlotterie**

Service Worldwide

**Please fill in number of tickets you want to order per month**

| Payment for all 6 classes one time payment DM or US$* | | Monthly payment per class = 1 installment every month DM or US$* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 744.00 | 413.35 | 1/1 ticket | 124.00 | 68.90 |
| 384.00 | 213.35 | 1/2 ticket | 64.00 | 35.60 |
| 204.00 | 113.35 | 1/4 ticket | 34.00 | 18.90 |

* US$ prices are subject to rate of exchange. Rate as of Jan. 1989

**Elect the one time payment for all 6 classes or pay monthly, air mail postage and winning list after each class. No additional charges.**

**Make check payable to "L.E. HAMELN"**

**On mail-order credit card payment a handling fee of DM 35.- (US$ 19.45) will be added.**

**Mail coupon to:** Lotterie Einnahme Hameln, Miegelweg 24, D-3250 Hameln W.-Germany

**Or Call Toll Free 1 800 999 1803** (from US only) Check time diff. (6 hr.)

82/79 Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐

First Name

Last Name

Street/P.O.Box

City/Code

Country

Please print in clear letters.

**Payment also accepted by credit cards. Only one time payment (all 6 classes) possible.**

Charge to my Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express ☐

Expiration Date Month Year

Signature

**PLEASE INCLUDE PAYMENT, WHEN YOU ORDER AFTER MAR. 31, 1989**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Exciting Travel Adventure for

**EDUCATORS!**

**March 24 – April 3, 1989**

**Prague** (1 night), **Berlin** (3), **Suhl** (3)
**Berlin** (1), **Prague** (1)

Now, on your '89 spring break, you can meet your colleagues in the fascinating German Democratic Republic, to exchange views on common professional concerns — educational methods and values, as well as salaries, benefits and conditions in our respective societies. You'll have special meetings in Berlin and in the 600-year-old Thuringian town of Suhl. Plus full sightseeing—an excursion to Potsdam, a visit to the world-famous Pergamon Museum and a sampling of the rich cultural heritage of Prague. Your host: the GDR's League of People's Friendship. Accommodations in comfortable Interhotels in the GDR, and in the trade union hotel in Prague. This tour is filling up fast, so book *now!*

From New York **$1350** All-inclusive
Plus visa charges and U.S. Customs/Departure taxes

$250 deposit reserves space—mail to **Anniversary Tours**
330 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001
(212)465-1200/Toll-free out of state (800)223-1336

The Nation Institute is now accepting applications for its 1989

ROBERT MASUR FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM IN CIVIL LIBERTIES

Named in memory of public interest attorney Robert Masur, the Fellowship is awarded annually to a law student with a demonstrated commitment to public interest work. The Masur Fellow will work part time on The Nation Institute's Supreme Court Watch project.

Responsibilities will include legal and investigative research as well as publishing and editing assignments. The Fellow will receive an $800 stipend.

To apply, send a résumé with two references and a cover letter explaining your experience and commitment to public interest law to: Denis Berger, Director, The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

APPLICATION DEADLINE: FEBRUARY 17, 1989

the country argue that the recent spread of racism on campus shows only that the university is a part of American society, which itself seems to be increasingly racist and violent. That's true, but it shouldn't provide an excuse for educators who prefer to wait for the larger society to change. More universities need to make the kind of commitment demonstrated by Chancellor Shalala at the University of Wisconsin if they are going to overcome the racism that has stained the campus during the Age of Reagan. □

CANTERING DOWN A DARK DEFILE

# Afghanistan's Uncertain Fate

BARNETT R. RUBIN

On February 8, 1988, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev made a surprise television appearance to announce his willingness to speed up the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. Only nine days later, Aleksandr Prokhanov, formerly a prominent cheerleader of the war effort in the Soviet press, summarized in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* the failure of the "revolution" those troops had been sent to save:

> Since those December [1979] days when USSR troops entered Afghanistan, the political course of the Kabul government has been changed repeatedly. State forums are now preceded by a mullah's prayers. The flag is no longer red; it now includes a green Islamic segment. The star has disappeared from the country's seal. The party has stopped talking about the construction of a socialist society. It has renounced a monopoly on power. It has declared pluralism. It has invited the bellicose opposition abroad to participate in the government, and the possible return to the country of the aged Shah, who was overthrown not by Taraki but by Daud—a return to a vestige from 15 years in the past—is under study. Most important, it has announced a policy of national reconciliation, an unprecedented compromise with its enemies, a willingness to see them not as enemies but as patriots, as collaborators in the future of a traditionally Islamic, nonaligned Afghanistan, slowly healing the wounds inflicted by war.
>
> Taken together, all this makes it possible to say that the original goals proclaimed by the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] have not been achieved. The party itself, the revolutionary government itself, have renounced them. Given that fact, the presence of Soviet troops in the country loses its point. Their departure is inevitable and logical.

A year after Gorbachev's television announcement, the last Soviet troops are pulling out of Afghanistan under the U.N.-sponsored accords signed in Geneva last April. But what indeed seems "inevitable and logical" now seemed impossible in "those December days" of more than nine

*Barnett R. Rubin is an assistant professor of political science at Yale University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years ago. The conventional wisdom of conservatives argued that the move into Afghanistan demonstrated once again the unstoppable dynamism of Soviet "expansionism." The conventional wisdom of nearly everyone outside Afghanistan argued that the Islamic-tribal resistance would inevitably succumb to the modern organization, technology and ideology of the Russians and their local allies.

But the Afghans, who surprised nineteenth-century Europe with their victories over the British, have now overturned the conventional wisdom of the twentieth century as well. The ruling party in Kabul, the P.D.P.A., has lost the battles for Afghanistan's population and territory and for international recognition. The Soviet Union, having virtually abandoned its ally, is busily signaling its desire for normal relations with any successor Afghan government. And the Afghan mujahedeen, equipped and supported by the United States, Pakistan and other Western and Islamic powers, seem poised to establish whatever order—or disorder—they choose.

An official of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees who recently spent six weeks on a mission through most of northeastern Afghanistan confirmed that the only semblance of government outside the capital were the local administrations run by resistance commanders. In September, Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of the moderate fundamentalist Jamiat-e Islami, or Islamic Society, whose Tajik (Persian-speaking) commanders predominate in northern Afghanistan, openly toured much of the same area.

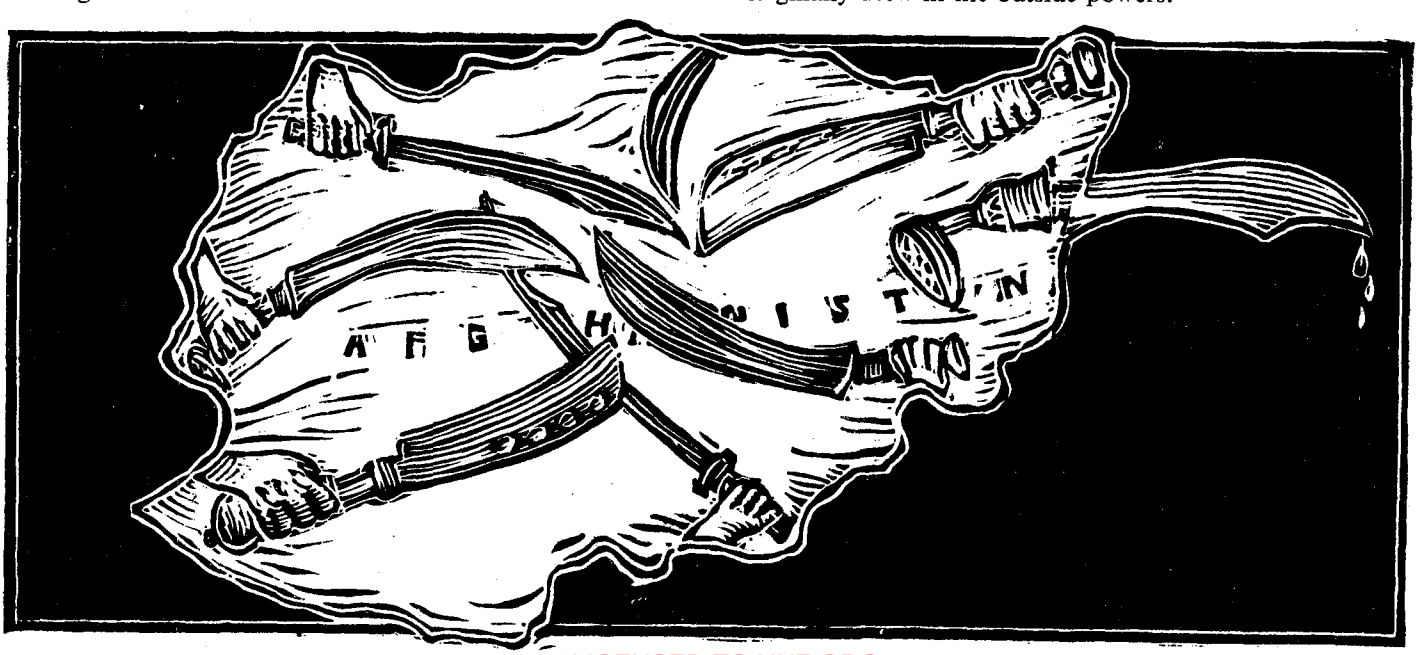
After his return to Peshawar, Pakistan, Rabbani assumed his turn as spokesman of the seven-party alliance of Sunni Moslem resistance parties based there. In this capacity he met with Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar during last fall's U.N. General Assembly meeting. As one of Pérez de Cuéllar's aides points out, "This was the first time in the forty-year history of the United Nations that the Secretary General met with the leader of the armed opposition to a sitting member of the General Assembly."

Even more remarkably, last December 3 to 5 Rabbani led a delegation of the Peshawar alliance in the first session of high-level direct talks with the Soviet Ambassador to Kabul, First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuli Vorontsov. The initial meetings were held in Saudi Arabia, and resumed in Islamabad, Pakistan, in January. Despite Vorontsov's claim to represent the government of Afghanistan as well as the Soviet Union, the Russians had in effect met the longstanding demand of the resistance for direct negotiations. This amounted to what the U.N. official called "a delegitimation of the Kabul regime by the Soviets."

The result has been intensified factional conflict and disarray in Kabul. In November, Soviet soldiers forcibly placed Sayed Mohammad Gulabzoy, the Interior Minister and leader of the militant Khalq ("masses") faction of the P.D.P.A., on an airplane to Moscow, where he is now in exile as ambassador. At least seventeen members of the Afghan Central Committee were arrested, and leading hardliners were expelled from the Politburo. High-level defections quickened, including a deputy foreign minister who had formerly headed the failed land-reform program, and one of President Najibullah's cousins, a brigadier general in the secret police. Najibullah's brother Sediqullah had defected earlier to the group led by Ahmad Shah Massoud, the famed Panjshir Valley resistance leader.

As these defectors realize, the government will not survive long after the Soviet pullout. Indeed, the composition of a new "broad-based" government has been the main subject of Vorontsov's negotiations, which have brought him together not only with the Pakistan-based Sunni resistance parties but with the Iran-based Shiite parties (Afghanistan's population is about 20 percent Shiite) and the exiled King, Zahir Shah, in exile in Rome since 1973.

These talks are the latest stage in the so-called second track of the peace process; the first culminated in the Geneva accords. Those, signed by Pakistan, Afghanistan, the United States and the Soviet Union, dealt only with the international aspects of the conflict. Only a separate but linked process of negotiation—one including the other Afghan political actors—could resolve the conflict that originally drew in the outside powers.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Russians had initially wanted the broad-based government to be formed before they agreed to withdraw, wishing to avoid the impression that they were simply "cutting and running" in the face of a military victory by the Western-supported resistance. By October 1987, however, the U.N. mediator, Under Secretary General Diego Cordovez, convinced them that there could be no progress toward a political solution without a clear Soviet commitment to withdraw—irrespective of the composition of the future government. The Russians consented to conclude the agreement on the first track in order to create the conditions for the second track.

Besides providing for the "front-loaded" withdrawal of the Soviet troops over nine months, with half to be pulled out in the first three months (by August 15, 1988), the Geneva accords also provided for an immediate cutoff of aid reaching the resistance through Pakistan. The Russians were counting on the combined effect of their pullout and the May 15 aid cutoff to create a dynamic toward a negotiated solution that would have allowed their clients to retain some role, at least in the immediate future.

What they were not counting on was the U.S. insistence on "symmetry," under which Washington claimed the right to arm Afghan parties it supported if Moscow aided its own allies. This policy contradicted the text of the accords, but the Russians signed them in full knowledge of the U.S. position.

By early January the Kabul government and the Russians had submitted more than 170 allegations of violations of the accords by Pakistan. (None of these have been confirmed by the U.N. monitors.) Infuriated by this apparent flouting of the agreement, the Russians made a number of rather ambiguous threats, such as their November announcement of a "suspension" of the withdrawal and Vorontsov's January 10 statement that the policy of the resistance and its supporters "can lead to a situation where the U.S.S.R. will not be able to implement the decision [to withdraw] which in principle has been taken." Gorbachev's decision to pull out, however, is firmly rooted in Soviet interests as he defines them and is one of the few concrete benefits his policies have delivered to the Soviet public. The Soviet government thus finds itself in the position, ironic for the age of "new thinking," of making warlike threats that its most obdurate opponents do not believe.

The second track has progressed nonetheless. The Russians, the Kabul regime, the exiled King and all elements of the resistance have agreed on a general framework for a political solution based on a plan first put forward by Cordovez. It consists of a *shura*, or consultative council, of 500-600 people that will choose the future government. All have agreed that the United Nations could help convene the council in "a place sacred to Muslims," such as Mecca.

The major sticking point remains the participation in the council by representatives of the P.D.P.A. or the Kabul government. The resistance refuses all cooperation with the P.D.P.A., which it considers to be anti-Islamic and guilty of war crimes. The four fundamentalist parties in the alliance also oppose participation by the King because they hold him responsible for the rise of Soviet influence in Afghanistan and because they are ideologically opposed to both hereditary monarchy and tribalism. (The Afghan monarchy based its power on a tribal confederation.)

The resistance broke off the second-track talks over this point, though the Soviet withdrawal has proceeded despite the lack of a political breakthrough. The resistance commanders inside Afghanistan have blocked nearly all roads leading to the capital. Massoud's fighters, in particular, cut off the road from the Soviet Union to Kabul, creating shortages of bread and kerosene, basic necessities in the hard Afghan winter. (Military supplies continue to arrive by air.) A Soviet offensive at the end of January enabled a convoy to pass through, but only at the cost of several villages astride the highway north of Kabul, reportedly annihilated, with hundreds of civilians killed by artillery and bombs.

This offensive, and perhaps others like it, will keep Kabul from disintegrating immediately, but few believe such actions can do more than postpone the denouement. At some point, with Soviet troops gone, even without a negotiated political solution, Najibullah and the other remaining leaders of the P.D.P.A. will join Gulabzoy and former President Babrak Karmal in Moscow.

That is when the real struggle will begin, for Afghanistan can never revert to the stagnant stability of the pre-1978 period. More than ten years of failed revolution and war have killed about 1.2 million people—9 percent of the estimated prewar population of 15.5 million—and driven as


## Socialist Scholars Conference

**Two Centuries of Revolution: 1789–1989**

**March 31, April 1&2, 1989**

**Boro of Manhattan Community College, CUNY**

**199 Chambers Street (near Trade Center), New York City**

***The usual suspects and hundreds more . . .***

- Paul Sweezy
- Samir Amin
- Barbara Ehrenreich
- Bogdan Denitch
- Joseph S. Murphy
- Cornel West
- Michael Harrington
- Daniel Singer
- Stanley Aronowitz
- Ralph Miliband
- Frances Fox Piven

**1989 REGISTRATION**

Make checks payable to: "Socialist Scholars Conference" and mail to: R.L. Norman, Jr., CUNY Democratic Socialist Club, Rm. 800, 33 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036. Please enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope for return of registration materials before conference. (212) 606-4226

Preregistration: ☐ $22.50 ☐ $12.50 (student/low income)
Regular Registration: ☐ $30.00 ☐ $15.00 (student/low income)
Professional Childcare available during the day on Saturday and Sunday.
☐ I need childcare for _____ children.

## SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

### MOVING?

Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:

THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion OH 43305

Please allow 4-6 weeks for processing.

### PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write to us at the address to the left, or call:

1-800-669-1002*

8:30 am to 8:30 pm EST

*Please note this number is for subscriber inquiries only.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many as 5 million peasants and tribal people across international borders as refugees; the violence has also displaced millions of those remaining into swollen cities and destroyed the agricultural economy.

The P.D.P.A. may have failed to provide new leadership, but it succeeded in destroying the old. The educated elites of the former regime died by the thousands in prison during the twenty months of revolutionary terror that preceded the Soviet intervention, and the survivors, now largely in the West, will be marginal to Afghanistan's future. The traditional elites of the rural population, who had based their power on control of the assets of the agricultural economy, have been thrust aside by younger men linked to the Islamic parties and better able to meet the demands of modern guerrilla warfare.

These new *gomandan* ("commanders") have laid the foundations of new institutions in the Afghan countryside. In the east and south, inhabited by the formerly dominant Pushtun (Afghan) ethnic group, they have revitalized the old system of tribal councils, or *jirgas*, which are now often known by the Islamic name *shura*. In these areas the proliferation of parties reflects the pattern of tribal segmentation. The *jirgas*, in which political parties are participating for the first time, represent an unprecedented politicization of the tribal society.

In the Persian- and Turkic-speaking north and west, the commanders of the dominant Jamiat-e Islami have created multiprovincial civil administrations. Here a peasantry without tribal structures had always acknowledged whatever state or empire managed to exercise de facto power. Now, through the medium of the Islamic political parties, the peasants are being organized into broader political structures incorporating local traditions such as councils of elders. A provisional *shura* could create a more representative state in Afghanistan by integrating these regional and local institutions into a type of federal system, as some exiled Afghan intellectuals have advocated.

Equally likely, however, is a battle for dominance. The most radical of the fundamentalist parties, the Hizbe Islami (Islamic Party) of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, which has enjoyed a disproportionate share of the aid distributed by the Pakistani military and has fought the other parties as much as it has the Russians, could make a bid to monopolize power. The predominantly Pushtun Hizbe is engaged in a bitter struggle throughout northern Afghanistan with the mainly Tajik Jamiat. The new institutions are still threatened by traditional blood feuds, made more deadly by modern weapons and ideological rationalizations for violence.

The capital itself, situated on an ethnic boundary, could become the focus of such a conflict. When the absolutist reformer King Amanullah fell to Islamic and tribal revolts in 1929, Tajik rebels from north of Kabul, the same area now commanded by Massoud, were the first to seize power. Nine months later Zahir Shah's father marched into Kabul from the south at the head of an unruly army of Pushtun tribesmen who ousted Afghanistan's only Tajik ruler, plundered the city and reestablished the tribal monarchy. The new leaders of Afghanistan may have university educations and belong to political parties, but the pull of tribe and kin re-


**The Facts Behind The Fiction**

An audio cassette series by political researcher

**Dave Emory**

call or write for free catalog

ARCHIVES ON AUDIO

P.O. Box 170023
San Francisco, CA 94117-0023
(415) 346-1840

RUSSIA TOURS

1989 IS THE YEAR
RUSSIA IS THE PLACE
PROGRESSIVE IS THE ORGANIZER

SUPER SAVERS

**SOVIET ADVENTURE** $1989 TO $2139 10 DAYS
DEPARTURES FROM MAY TO OCTOBER
MOSCOW, LENINGRAD, KIEV

**RUSSIAN HIGHLIGHTS** $1459 TO $1799 11 DAYS
DEPARTURES FROM MARCH TO DECEMBER
LENINGRAD, MOSCOW, PRAGUE

**CAPITAL CITIES** $1799 TO $2159 11 DAYS
DEPARTURES FROM MARCH TO DECEMBER
LENINGRAD, KIEV, MOSCOW, PRAGUE

**THEATRE & ARTS** $1679 TO $1999 16 DAYS
DEPARTURES FROM MARCH TO DECEMBER
MOSCOW, TALLINN, VILNIUS, LENINGRAD

Commissions Available for Groups of 4 or more

**PROGRESSIVE WORLD TOURS**

*"A Nice Efficient Travel Company"*

4003 Islewood Dr. • Deerfield Beach, FL 33442 • (305)427-4779
Specialists in Russia, Mongolia, Eastern Europe & China


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO STONY BROOK . . .

Professor E. Fred Dube of the State University of New York/Stony Brook has been slandered and persecuted; denied the tenure overwhelmingly recommended by his department, by two faculty committees and by two successive university review committees; and finally deprived of his job on the basis of the false accusation of anti-Semitism.

A Black South African and a member of the African National Congress who was imprisoned on Robben Island and exiled for his protests against apartheid, Dr. Dube has unrelentingly fought for equality for all peoples and against all forms of racism. For 10 years, Professor Dube was an outstanding professor of Africana Studies and Psychology at Stony Brook.

In a series of events reminiscent of education and justice in apartheid South Africa and McCarthyism in the U.S., Dr. Dube became the target of a well-orchestrated campaign based on misinformation.

- In 1977, Professor Dube begn to teach at SUNY/Stony Brook. One of his courses was on the Politics of Race. Dr. Dube raised the most controversial issues, urged the students to avoid stereotyped thinking and encouraged them to develop their own opinions based on their research.

- In 1983, a visiting Israeli professsor who had never met Dr. Dube nor audited his class charged that Dr. Dube was anti-Semitic. His allegation was based on his own response to the fact that Dr. Dube had included an option to discuss Zionism and racism as one of the twelve topics for a paper.

- The Faculty Senate at Stony Brook investigated the allegations. A Jewish student testified on behalf of five Jewish students in Dr. Dube's class that the charge was unfounded. By a vote of 54 to 14, the Faculty Senate concluded that Dr. Dube's teaching was consistent with the responsibility to be sensitive to differing viewpoints on controversial issues.

- Without meeting Dr. Dube or investigating in depth, the local and then the national Anti-Defamation League launched a national and international campaign to remove Professor Dube directed at President John Marburger. The campaign reached into the office of Governor Cuomo, who denounced Dube. The Jewish Defense Organization descended on the campus, distributed Dube's home address and phone number and threatened to *"teach a lesson in 'Jewish Justice'"* to Dr. Dube if he remained at Stony Brook. Dr. Dube's wife and children received threatening phone calls.

---

Atty. Sheila Adbus-Salaam, National Conference of Black Lawyers, NY,NY
Fred Abramsom, Queens, NY
Prof. David Adams, Wesleyan Univ., Branford, CT
Atty. Adjoa Aiyetoro, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Silver Spring, MD
Nancy Alisberg, National Lawyers Guild, Hartford, CT
Prof. Ernest Allen, Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA
Gerald Ames, NY, NY
Joyce Arkhurst, NY, NY
Prof. Molefi Asante, Temple Univ., Philadelphia, PA
Atty. Diane Autin, NY, NY
Prof. Allen Ballard, (Emeritus) City College, NY, NY
Emmett & Priscilla Bassett, NY, NY
Dr. Mary Bassett, NY, NY
William A. Bell, SUNY/Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY
Atty. Steven Bernstein, NY, NY
Carol Bernstein Ferry, Scarsdale, NY
Prof. William Bird-Forteza, SUNY/Old Westbury,Old Westbury, NY
Sharee Blinder, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Hon. Julian Bond, State Senator Atlanta, GA
Atty. Wendy Brown, Center for Law & Social Justice, Brooklyn, NY
Prof. Dennis Brutus, Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA
Prof. Helen Burgess, Sacramento, CA
Atty. Haywood Burns, National Lawyers Guild, NY, NY
Vinie Burroughs, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, NY, NY
Prof. Joseph Califf, (Emeritus) SUNY/Pottsdam, Irvington, NJ
Jane Califf, NYC Technical College Brooklyn, NY
James Campbell, NY, NY
Prof. Norman Chance, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, CT
Frank Chapman, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, NY, NY
Dr. Mary Charlson, Cornell Univ., NY, NY
Max Charmaz, Riverside Edgecombe Neighborhood Association, NY, NY
Prof. Hal Chase, Ball State Univ. Muncie, IN
Rev. Ben Chavis, Commission for Racial Justice United Church of Christ, NY, NY
Miriam and Leon Chesman, NY, NY
Prof. Clarence Christian, Shelby State College, Memphis, TN
Dr. June Jackson Christmas, CUNY Medical School, NY, NY
Atty. Francis J. Clark, Brooklyn, NY
Dr. John Henrik Clarke, Prof. Emeritus, Hunter College, NY, NY
Atty. Julius Chen, NY, NY
Mitchel Cohen, Red Balloon Collective Brooklyn, NY
Arthur Colen, Teachers Action Caucus, Brooklyn, NY
Prof. David Coplan, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Atty. Marti Copleman, National Lawyers Guild, Brooklyn, NY
Jeanette Cortero, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Hon. George Crockett, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC
Atty. Murray Cutler, Brooklyn, NY
Hon. Geraldine Daniels, NY State Assembly, NY, NY
Prof. O. R. Dathorne, Univ. of Kentucky, Lexington, KY
Jennifer David, American Committee on Africa, NY, NY
Prof. Chandier Davis, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto, CAN
Horace B. Davis, Sandwich, MA
Prof. Angela Davis, San Francisco State Univ., San Francisco, CA
Hon. Angelo Del Toro, NY State Assembly, Albany, NY
Hon. Ron Dellums, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC
M. Afrida Derby, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Prof. Gloria Dickinson, Trenton State College, Trenton, NJ
Prof. David Dubnau, New York Univ. School of Medicine, NY, NY
Jeanie Dubnau, Public Health Research Institute, NY, NY
Ellen Duran, Rehabilitation Counselor, Jamaica, NY
Hon. Merwyn Dymally, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC
Prof. Crawford Elder, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, CT
Prof. Thomas Emerson, (Emeritus) Yale Law School, New Haven, CT
Ruth Emerson, Educational Institute for Learning & Research, North Haven, CT
Atty. Vicki Erenstein, National Lawyers Guild, NY, NY
Sheila Diane Evans, NY Alliance of Black School Educators, Brooklyn, NY
Atty. Michael Fahey, NY, NY
Prof. James Faris, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, CT
Prof. Ed Ferguson, Oregon State Univ., Corvalus, OR
Prof. John Fleming, Director of Church Relations (Emeritus) Raleigh, NC
Prof. Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Rhode Island College, Providence, RI
Henry Foner, President, Local 1-3 FLM-FLJ UFCW, NY, NY
Prof. Eric Foner, Columbia Univ., NY, NY
Emma Ford, Social Worker, St. Albans, NY
Evelyn Watts Foster, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Helen Frank-Jenkins, Laurelton, NY
Prof. Marilyn Frankenstein, Univ. of Massachusetts, Boston, MA
Carla Freccero, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH
Lenore French, New York Univ., NY, NY
Paulette Gary, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Dr. H. Jack Geiger, CUNY Medical School, NY, NY
Prof. Hermon George, Univ. of Northern Colorado, Greeley, CO
Prof. Angela Gilliam, SUNY/Old Westbury, NY, NY
Atty. Sarah Glavey, CUNY Law School, Lake Carmel, NY
Prof. Eugene Glickman, Nassau Community College, Garden City, NY
Rabbi Robert Goldburg, Rabbi Emeritus Temple Mishkan Israel, New Haven, CT
Courtney Goldson, Jamaica, NY
Prof. Barbara Gordon, Hunter College/CUNY, NY, NY
Prof. C.D. Grant, Bronx Community College CUNY, NY, NY
Bob Greenburg, Teachers Action Caucus U.F.T., Brooklyn, NY
Terry Gross, NY, NY
Rabbi Marc Gruber, New Jewish Agenda, NY, NY
Prof. Bruce Hare, SUNY/Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY
Prof. Sidney Harring, CUNY Law School, Flushing, NY
Prof. Robert Harris, Jr., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, NY
Dr. Philip Harvey, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Joseph Haslip, National People of Color Student Coalition, NY, NY
Prof. William Hastings, Fordham Univ., Bronx, NY
Steven Hawkins, Black American Law Student Organization, NY, NY
Dr. Frederick Hecht, NY, NY
Prof. Calvin Hicks, Roxbury Community College, Boston, MA
Alan Hirshman, Brooklyn, NY
Kathy Holmes, American Irish Congress, Lynbrook, NY
Prof. Gerald Home, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, NY
Dr. Jonathan House, Committee of Interns and Residents, NY, NY
Prof. Rovert Hoyte, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Atty. David Hyman, Brooklyn, NY
Abdeen Jabara, Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee, Washington, DC
Prof. John Jackson, Center for Black Studies, Granville, OH
Atty. Debra James National Conference of Black Lawyers, NY, NY
Prof. Angelene Jamison-Hall, Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH
Prof. Wendell Jean Pierre, Rutgers Univ., Newark, NJ
Prof. Len Jeffries, City College of NY, NY, NY
Dr. Gretchen Johnson, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Prof. Robert Johnson, Saint Cloud Univ., Saint Cloud, MN
William Johnstone, Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa, NY, NY
Rob Jones, American Committee on Africa, NY, NY
Cecelia Jones, Belleville, IL
Lotus Jones, Forest Hills, NY
Rev. William Jones, Florida State Univ., Tallahassee, FL
Prof. June Jordan, SUNY/Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY
Atty. Arthur Kinoy, Center for Constitutional Rights, NY, NY
Prof. Martin Klein, Univ. of Toronto, Ontario, CAN
Prof. Neal Koblitz, Univ of Washington, Seattle, WA
Prof. Ofuatey Kodjoe, Queens College CUNY, St. Albans, NY
Dr. Frederick Kraus, Univ. of Alabama (Emeritus), Birmingham, AL
Prof. David Laibman, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, NY
Prof Diana Laison, Temple Univ. Philadelphia, PA
Prof. Gary Laison, Saint Joseph's Univ. Philadelphia, PA
Larry & Lindy Lange, Lake Region Peace Network, Devils Lake ND
Patricia Lanier, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Prof. Richard Lee, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto, CAN
Rudian Leinaeng, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, NY, NY
Denise Levertov, Somerville, MA
Alberta Lewis, NY, NY
Dr. Robert Jay Lifton, CUNY, NY, NY
Prof. Monroe Little, Indiana Univ. Indianapolis, IN
Dahlma Llanos, Bronx, NY
Prof. Richard Lobban, Rhode Island College, Providence, RI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

- In 1985, two faculty committees at Stony Brook recommended that Dr. Dube not be given tenure. President Marburger, under intense pressure and threatened with a cutoff of state funds and private contributions, refused to accept the faculty's recommendations. Dr. Dube appealed.
- A review committee of three faculty members—one appointed by the President, one by Dube, and the third selected by the first two—was convened. It *unanimously* recommended tenure.
- SUNY Chancellor Clifton Wharton refused to accept their recommendations and formed an unprecedented review committee. The second review committee *unanimously* recommended tenure.
- Chancellor Wharton once again refused to accept the recommendations of the faculty—and *terminated* Dr. Dube!

On February 24, 1987, ***The New York Times*** in an editorial entitled "Academic-Not-So-Freedom at SUNY" concluded that the denial of tenure to Dr. Dube dealt "a blow to academic freedom, a concept meant to encompass even the most bitter differences of opinion." Neither freedom of speech nor academic freedom are rights in South Africa. In the U.S., freedom of speech is a constitutional right, a right once again under attack in many classrooms today. All too frequently, professors exercising this right have lost their jobs. A victory for Dr. Dube can be a turning point in discouraging ideological assaults against the freedom to teach and to learn in U.S. classrooms.

In this bicentennial year of the Constitution, we, the undersigned, from universities, communities and organizations across the country urge that immediate tenure be granted to Professor Dube. The denial of his rights and the rights of his students threatens and limits the rights of us all. An affirmation of his rights is a triumph for us all.

Individual letters of protest should go to: The Chancellor, SUNY, State University Plaza, Albany, NY 12246 and to Gov. Mario Cuomo, Executive Chamber, State Capitol, Albany, NY, 12224.

---

Prof. Lee Lorch, York Univ., Ontario, CAN
Prof. Audre Lorde, Hunter College, NY, NY
Prof. Janice Love, Univ. of South Carolina, Columbia, SC
Rev. Joseph Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Altanta, GA
Anne Lown, NY, NY
Prof. David Lyons, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, NY
Carolyn Lyons, R.N., NY, NY
Prof. Bernard Magubane, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, CT
Prof. Frances X Mark, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Prof. Michael Martin, Calif. State Univ., Los Angeles, CA
Prof. Paula Matabane, Howard Univ, Washington, DC
Prof. Aggrey Mbere, Roxbury Community College, Boston, MA
Cecelia McCall, PhD., Baruch College, NY, NY
Prof. H. Lawrence McCrorey, Univ. of Vermont, Burlington, VT
Prof. John McDermott, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Prof. Vernon McClean, William Paterson College, Wayne, NJ
Maureen McCullagh, Mount Vernon, NY
Jewel McPherson, Delta Sigma Theta, Bronx, NY
Prof. Seymour Melmon, Columbia Univ., NY, NY
Dr. Steven Meshnick, CUNY Medical School, NY, NY
Prof. Barton Meyers, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, NY
Vera Michelson, Coalition Against Apartheid, Albany, NY
Prof. Al Mickens, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Prof. Judy Miller, Seton Hall Univ., South Orange, NJ
Prof. Will Miller, Univ. of Vermont, Burlington, VT
Prof. Darrell Millner, Portland State Univ., Portland, OR
Hon. Velmanette Montgomery, NY State Senate, Brooklyn, NY
Prof. Toni Morrison, SUNY/ Albany, Albany, NY
Prof. Leora Mosston, City College/CUNY, NY, NY
Prof. Akbar Muhammed, SUNY/ Binghamton, Binghamton, NY
Prof. Leith Mullings, City College CUNY, NY, NY
Prof. George Muugi, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Michael Myerson, U.S. Peace Council, NY, NY
Prof. Philip Nicholson, Nassau Community College, Garden City, NY
Margo Nikitas, Women for Racial & Economic Equality, NY, NY
Atty. Henry O'Brien, Former District Attorney, Suffolk County, NY
John O'Brien, James Connolly Prisoners Welfare Fund, NY, NY
Dr. Peter Orris, Northwestern Univ. Chicago, IL
Hon. David Paterson, NY State Senate, NY, NY
Evelynne R. Patterson, New York Univ., NY, NY
Beth Ann Payne, Students in Action-Lawyers Guild, Washington, DC
Prof. Marvin Peek, Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN
Ledonis K. Penn, Columbia Heights, NY
Dr. Marifeli Perez-Stable, SUNY/ Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
John W. Perry, New York Univ. Law School, NY, NY
Doris Phinizy, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Seloka Phirwa, Dartmouth College, Dartmouth, NH
Dr. Alvin Pouissant, Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA
Prof. James Randall, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, IA
Prof. Trace Regan, Ohio Wesleyan Univ., Delaware, OH
J. G. Riley, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Rabbi Michael Robinson, Temple Israel of Nothern Westchester, Croton, NY
Harold Rogers, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Chicago, IL
Elizabeth Rosado, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Prof. Peter Rosenthal, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto, CAN
Millie G. Ross, Hunter College CUNY, NY,NY
Atty. Mildred Roth, NY, NY
Atty. William Rothberg, Brooklyn, NY
Prof. Deborah Rubin, Nassau Community College, Brooklyn, NY
Marilyn Russell, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Lucia Rusly, SUNY/Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY
Sonia Sanchez, Poet Philadelphia, PA
Karen Sauvigne, CUNY Law School, Flushing, NY
Morris Schappes, Editor, Jewish Currents, NY, NY
Carlotta Scott, Administrative Assistant, Washington, DC
Pete Seeger, Beacon, NY
Ralph Shapiro, NY, NY
Prof. Ruth Sidel, Hunter College, NY, NY
Dr. Victor W. Sidel, Albert Einstein Univ. Medical School, Bronx, NY
Ronald Simmons, Howard Univ. Washington, DC
Prof. Archie Singham, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, NY
Atty. Michael Smith, National Lawyers Guild, NY, NY
Prof. Donald Smith, Baruch College CUNY, NY, NY
Prof. Gavin Smith, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto, CAN
Dr. Helen Sobell, Gray Panthers, San Francisco, CA
Maxine and Ruby Sprott, Jamaica, NY
Margie Stewart, Hanover College, Hanover, NH
Prof. James Stewart, Pennsylvania State Univ., Univ. Park, PA
Dr. Olivia Pearl Stokes, Greater Harlem Guidance Center
Prof. William Strickland, Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA
Prof. Dirk Struik, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Emeritus), Cambridge, MA
Prof. Merwyn Susser, Columbia Univ., NY, NY
Atty. Richard Sussman, NY, NY
Prof. Warren Swindell, Indiana State Univ., Terre Haute, IN
Prof. Michael Taves, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Edith Tiger, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, NY, NY
Prof. Luke Tripp, Southern Illinois Univ., Carbondale, IL
Prof. James Turner, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, NY
Prof. Ruth H. Turner, Hanover College, Hanover, NH
Rev. Gerald Twomey, Roslyn, NY
Atty. John Upton, National Lawyers Guild, NY, NY
Prof. Ivan Van Sertima, Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, NJ
Jacqueline Van Sertima, Journal of African Civilization, Highland Park, NJ
Madeline de Vere, Bronx Community College, Bronx, NY
Prof. Samuel Von Winbush, SUNY/Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
Mike Vozick, City College, NY, NY
Prof. David Waas, Manchester College, North Manchester, IN
Prof. Phiroze Wadia, Rutgers Univ., Newark, NJ
Prof. Immanuel Wallerstein, SUNY/ Binghamton, Binghamton, NY
Prof. Ron Walters, Howard Univ., Washington, DC
Prof. John Warfield, Univ. of Texas. Austin, TX
Lillian Weber, Bronx, NY
Prof. John P. Weber, Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, IL
Prof. Daniel Weiner, Univ. of Toledo, Toledo, OH
Dr. Doris Wethers, NY, NY
Prof. Francis White, Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA
Loretta Williams, Unitarian Universalist Association, Boston, MA
Prof. Margaret Wilkerson, Univ. of California, Berkeley, CA
Barbara Wilson, Bronx Community Collegte, Bronx, NY
Atty. Margaret Winter, Winter and Bass, NY, NY
Prof. S. Miles Woods, Roosevelt Univ., Chicago, Il
Prof. Frederick Wright, Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN
Prof. Marcia Wright, Columbia Univ., NY, NY
Rose Wyler, NY, NY
Prof. Gloria Young-Sing, SUNY/ Old Westbury, Old Westbury, NY
SOS-Youth Against Racism. NY, NY
Claudia Zaslavsky, Educators Against Apartheid, NY, NY
Prof. Thomas Zaslavsky, SUNY/ Binghamton, Binghamton, NY
Sam Zaslavsky, NY, NY
Barbara Zeluck, NY, NY
Prof. Melvin Zimmerman, York Univ., Ontario, CAN

**Contributions may be sent to**
NCBL/Dube Fund
126 W. 119th Street
New York, NY 10026

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THINK TWICE BEFORE FILLING THIS OUT.

If you pick up *The Nation* now and then and have thoughts of subscribing, think it over carefully. Because a subscription may be more than you bargained for.

For one thing, it's apt to upset you on a regular basis. The facts can be hard to take. And I.F. Stone, Jefferson Morley and Stephen F. Cohen are interested in facts.

That's one reason our writers are some of the best around and they do their best writing for us.

There are other advantages to subscribing, too. Including writing on the arts of such clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should fill out the coupon after all.

Just don't say we didn't warn you.

**The Nation.**
**Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.**

**THE NATION, BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305**

YES! I THOUGHT TWICE AND I WANT TO SUBSCRIBE. Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a saving of a full 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a full refund for all unmailed copies.

NAME (Please print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Double my saving. Send me a full year (47 issues) for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

Foreign surface postage: add $7/24 issues, $14/one year. Air Mail rates available upon request. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D908


mains strong. Their Islamic politics will face its most severe test when it confronts not a foreign "atheist" invader but the ancient rivalries of the mountains. □

# Salvador

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

the essential goal of low-intensity conflict was to achieve financial recovery. For this to happen, the F.M.L.N. had to be isolated; aid from the United States and Western Europe was to do the rest. But in actual fact, El Salvador is now producing less than half the coffee it produced ten years ago. We Salvadorans are planting around one-eighth of what we used to plant in cotton. And sugar prices are way down on the world market. So the three main exports that were once the motor force of our economy are now significantly depressed.

Worse, during the past eight years a new phenomenon has appeared, the so-called artificial economy. The country is living not on what *it* produces but on what other countries produce. If you go to San Salvador, you will see a lot of commercial activity going on in the city. The shops are full of goods, there are plenty of vendors on the streets. This gives the impression of a more or less vibrant, developed economy. But that impression is utterly false. In El Salvador 65 percent of the population is unemployed or underemployed, and yet we have unemployed people with an income. They have an income because the two main sources of revenue are foreign aid and the money that Salvadorans receive from relatives in the United States and Canada. We receive more than $500 million annually in foreign aid and an even greater amount in remittances from abroad. We have an economy, therefore, that is becoming increasingly artificial. And Salvadorans are paying the price: There is no economic recovery.

At the social level, the aim was to create an organized social base that would legitimize the counterinsurgency government headed by José Napoleón Duarte. I would say that in 1984-85 this was relatively successful. A social pact with a sector of the trade union movement made it possible to build an organized base of support for the government. But a year and a half after Duarte's June 1984 inauguration the whole thing began to unravel, because he was unable to deliver on his promises to organized labor. We then saw the emergence of a movement in which some of the unions that had supported the government—that had in fact been instrumental in securing Duarte's election—began to break with it and move toward the opposition. At the same time, an alternative core of social organizations developed, pri-

*Rubén Zamora is general coordinator of the left-of-center Democratic Convergence and secretary general of the Popular Social Christian Movement of El Salvador, one of its three member parties. He returned to El Salvador from exile in November 1987. His brother, Salvadoran Attorney General Mario Zamora, was murdered by right-wing death squads in March 1980.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marily around the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (U.N.T.S.), which began to organize workers after they had endured three years of massive and indiscriminate killings, especially among the more progressive or left-leaning unions.

In the past two years the organizations that remain more or less supportive of the government have been ashamed to say so. To be candid, they remain on the government's side only because they are economically dependent on the American Institute for Free Labor Development. If they jump ship, A.I.F.L.D. will cut off their funds. Even so, their fear and shame are apparent in their disclaimers. They keep insisting that they aren't supporting the government, and from time to time publish something critical of the administration to maintain a certain level of legitimacy among their members. I've been invited several times recently to address seminars attended by the mid-level leadership and some of the rank and file of these unions. At the end, three or four people always stand up, not to ask questions but to make speeches about how the government has committed treason, how it has failed to keep its promises.

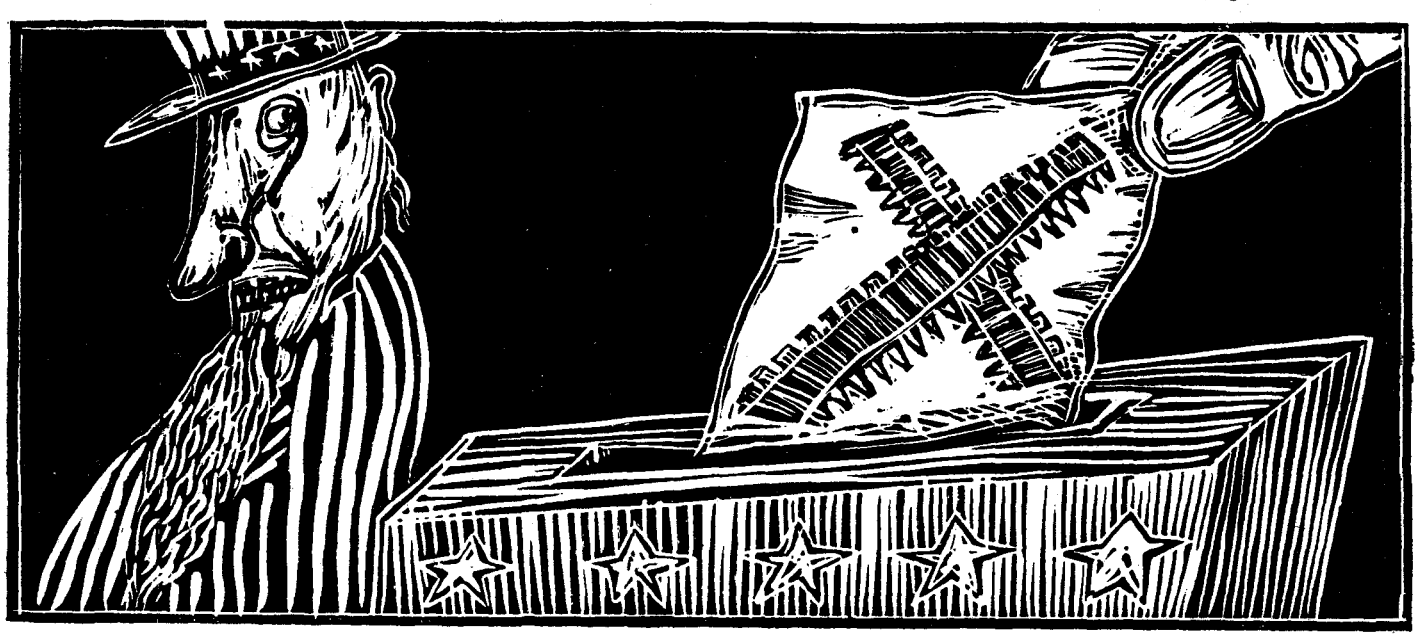
Finally, at the political level, the goal of the counterinsurgency project was to produce a government that would function as a legitimate representative of the people. That is why the Christian Democrats were chosen in 1984. They were the most legitimate party in terms of popular support, especially in comparison with the extreme right-wing Arena, the conservative National Conciliation Party or the smaller parties that have been formed since the early 1980s. But after four years in office the Christian Democrats have virtually destroyed their own legitimacy.

They have suffered from the fact that El Salvador is in a state of war. Furthermore, as the political instrument of a counterinsurgency project, the Christian Democrats have been unable to escape from the dictates of the U.S. government. They had to impose, for instance, an economic reform package that was extremely unpopular but was required by the counterinsurgency program. In addition, they have lost the measure of honesty in public affairs that characterized their party in the 1960s and 1970s and are now paying the price for the corruption into which the party has sunk since 1980. Arena, which controls the Legislative Assembly, has set up a special commission on corruption, and practically every week it reveals some new scandal, thereby steadily destroying the credibility of the Christian Democrats. All this was reflected clearly in the March 1988 congressional and municipal elections, which Duarte's party lost. Between 1985 and 1988, the Christian Democrats lost 160,000 votes; Arena gained 170,000, out of a total of about 1 million votes cast. The extent of the Christian Democrats' defeat was beyond anything that had been predicted.

Elections have been used in El Salvador as a means of legitimizing the counterinsurgency project. That is why the United States has placed such importance on them. But a very interesting thing has now happened. Last time around the elections did not play their assigned stabilizing role. They had the opposite effect, and Arena's triumph was perhaps the most destabilizing thing that could have happened.

Now there are two other important factors that make the Salvadoran crisis even more profound. One is that practically all the political and social actors in El Salvador now *perceive* the crisis. The other is that with the subjective recognition that the crisis exists, everything starts to move with a new dynamism. Since the elections last March we have entered a new phase, in which some of the main actors involved have started to press for a resolution of the crisis on their own terms—and in the near future. People have begun to say, "We can no longer go on like this; we have to solve it now." And that is what makes the situation so explosive and unstable.

The right wing, for example, has clearly decided that it is going to resolve the crisis quickly and on its own terms. How? Through next month's elections. The right has already captured the legislative branch; now it aims to capture the executive. It is staking everything on this, and the organizations of the private sector are uniting behind Arena. Once the right has control of both the legislative and ex-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ecutive branches, it plans to remake Salvadoran society in the next five years.

Inside the military, too, there is a growing impatience to resolve the conflict. A debate is under way between the adherents of two different strategies. On one side are people who want to continue the present low-intensity conflict. On the other are the believers in the emerging alternative strategy of total war—or, as some officers call it, "the Guatemalan solution." This is fundamentally different from low-intensity conflict strategy. First, it redefines the concept of victory. In low-intensity conflict, victory is the isolation of the insurgent forces; in total war, victory means the annihilation of the military enemy. Second, it redefines the military enemy. In low-intensity conflict, the guerrillas are the enemy; in total war, the military enemy includes the guerrillas, the population surrounding them and the urban mass movement. The third fundamental difference is that low-intensity conflict is a war without time limits; it can go on and on for years. The proponents of total war say it is possible to win in six months. The only problem, they say, is that probably 100,000 people will be killed. But which is worse? To have a low-intensity war drag on for ten years, with 100,000 killed, or to get it over with in six months with the same number of casualties? Ten years of low-intensity conflict allow for no possibility of rebuilding the country. Total war gets the killing over with in six months, and there are nine and a half years left to rebuild the country. Such is the mentality of these people.

The other main force in Salvadoran politics—that is to say, the United States—has no short-term strategy for settling the conflict. The Reagan Administration stuck to its strategy of low-intensity conflict, and in recent months the motto of the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador seems to have been, "Don't make waves—just hang on until January" and pass the problem on to the next Administration. It seems to me that people in the United States fail to grasp the depth of the crisis. They do not recognize—and therefore are unprepared for—the possibility of a serious explosion here early in the Bush Administration.

It is in this climate of crisis that we now approach the March 19 presidential vote. Under present circumstances, the tendency is for the election to become an additional element of instability from the point of view of the counterinsurgency project. The weakness of the Christian Democratic government is not the only reason for this; two other new factors have also come into play.

The first is the attitude of the extreme right. Since its victory in the March 1988 elections, Arena has viewed itself as the certain winner of the presidency next month. This has encouraged the right, if not to challenge the entire basis of the U.S. project in El Salvador then at least to seek a renegotiation of the rules of the game, especially in the areas of social policy and the economy.

The second new element is the presence, for the first time in this decade, of a democratic left-wing alternative, in the form of the Democratic Convergence. We are taking part in the elections while at the same time maintaining our political alliance with the armed left and presenting a platform that clashes head-on with the notion of low-intensity conflict and questions the underlying assumptions of the U.S. project. The Democratic Convergence criticizes and denies the "democracy" that is supposed to exist in El Salvador; rejects North American interference; denounces government repression; and proposes a negotiated political settlement of the war and a deepening of structural reforms.

The Democratic Convergence has decided to take part in next month's elections, in the belief that we no longer run such a great risk of legitimizing the counterinsurgency project by our presence—the instrument of elections has already become dysfunctional. According to low-intensity-conflict theory, the aim is not to liquidate the democratic left but to keep it small. We call this the "bonsai left"—it looks beautiful in the counterinsurgency garden, but it never grows. Our main task now is to grow, not to be a bonsai.

It is still too early to predict how the voters will react to the new electoral framework, but all the signs are that no single party will win an absolute majority on March 19 and that a second-round runoff will be necessary in April.

How does George Bush affect the equation? The reaction among Salvadoran elites to his victory was one of modest relief but little enthusiasm. Quite clearly the right did not express the same delight with which it greeted Reagan's triumph in 1980. This is because the right wing has learned to distrust the United States. Having once regarded Washington as a natural ally, it has come to regard the Americans as fickle, a result of the U.S. preference for the Christian Democrats over the past eight years. The reaction of the military high command was a greater sense of security about the prospects for continued aid. On the democratic left, there was disappointment at the defeat of Michael Dukakis, although this was offset by the Democratic gains in both houses of Congress.

The outcome of the U.S. elections was definitely ambiguous. Although there is continuity between Reagan and Bush, the new President lacks his predecessor's charisma and has no claim to a popular mandate. Most important, he inherits a Central America policy that has suffered eight years of wear and tear and has shown very few positive results and some spectacular failures (the *contras* and Panama). From the perspective of the changes that are under way in Central America, the Bush Administration offers few grounds for optimism. New initiatives are lacking; instead, there appears to be an instinctive reluctance to invest political and economic resources in a region that the Reagan Administration blew out of all proportion, and a tendency to pay more attention to other Latin American problems and parts of the world of greater strategic importance.

A greater measure of pragmatism and, above all, realism will certainly be a healthy corrective after eight years of ideologically fixated Reaganism. But it is not enough. The Salvadoran crisis is too deep, and the United States too deeply mired in it, for a policy of "benign neglect" à la Richard Nixon to solve anything. Instead, all the evidence suggests that it will be the course of events on the ground in El Salvador that will force the new U.S. Administration comprehensively to rethink its policy. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Nation Reprint Mart.

## The Nation's 120th Anniversary Issue: Looking at the United States

Writers and politicians from around the world reflect on modern America in our 120th anniversary issue: Margaret Atwood, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Benazir Bhutto, Willy Brandt, E.L. Doctorow, Slavenka Drakulich, Rachel Eytan, Carlos Fuentes, Christopher Hitchens, George Konrad, Jack Lang, Penny Lernoux, Michael Manley, Wang Meng, Margaret Chant Papandreou, Salman Rushdie, E.P. Thompson, Gore Vidal and Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Also: Penn Kimball's analysis of the F.B.I.'s 60-year surveillance of *The Nation*. 120-page issue. **This issue only, $4.** (March 22, 1986)

## Gorbachev's Soviet Union: After Two Years

A star-studded cast of scholars, writers and émigrés consider the subject in the perspectives of history, of change and of current policy. These articles go far beyond *glasnost*. They cover the challenges facing Gorbachev, including political succession, the domestic economy, foreign policy, relations with the West and U.S. reaction. A distinguished contribution. *(June 13, 1987)*

## The Rise and Decline of Accuracy in Media

Michael Massing reports on AIM's effect on journalists and concludes that AIM is a paper tiger. Alan Wolfe reflects on AIM's agenda and argues that its concerns are ideological. *(September 14, 1986)*

## Beyond Westmoreland: The Right's Attack on the Press

Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir provide a valuable overview of the New Right's campaign against the media. They show how the Westmoreland trial fits into a strategy to curtail the independence of the press. *(March 30, 1985)*

## Facing South Africa

In this realistic assessment of the struggle for liberation, Andrew Kopkind explores the brutal banalities of the South African system. Using interviews gathered during a journey through the region, he presents readers with a wide-angle view of a society in ferment and leaves no doubt as to the situation's volcanic potential. Also: David Lewis's article "At the Gates of the Laager." *(November 22, 1986)*

## K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It

This issue raises serious questions about the U.S. role in the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. David Pearson's study argues that U.S. authorities at the highest level knew the airliner was off course much earlier than they have admitted and that the questions raised by the official versions of the story can only be resolved by a Congressional inquiry. *(August 18/25, 1984)*

## K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions

This issue updates the ground-breaking K.A.L. story from the year before. David Pearson, John Keppel and David Corn analyze new Japanese radar data, examine a Nation Institute-sponsored review, by aviation experts, of the final airliner transmission and describe the government's efforts to obstruct investigation. *(August 17/24, 1985)*

## Myths of the Middle East

This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas. *(December 5, 1981)*

## The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement

Frank Donner offers a provocative analysis and thorough documentation of the outrageous attempts by right wingers in media, Congress and the Administration to discredit the nuclear freeze movement, charging that it is inspired and manipulated by the Soviet Union. *(November 6, 1982)*

## Nuclear Samizdat

What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and his brother, biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide with clarity the unofficial viewpoint rarely found in the American Press. *(January 16, 1982)*

## Disarmament: Covering the Unthinkable

Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of indisputably the most important issue facing mankind; Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue. *(May 1, 1982)*

## The New Arms Technology

From the catapult to particle beam weapons, the engineering of death has concentrated more attention and resources than any other human endeavor. Nine experts explore and explain arms technology—both conventional and nuclear—and trace the political decisions that have led us closer to Armageddon than ever before. *(April 9, 1983)*

## Central America

Appearing just after the controversial Kissinger report in January 1984, the special issue on Central America offered a strong refutation of the Administration's views. The arguments still hold. Highlighted by Walter LaFeber's overview, William LeoGrande's analysis of the domestic political fallout and Peter Davis's compelling firsthand report on the Nicaraguan revolution, the issue is important and informative. *(January 28, 1984)*

## Latin America: A Political C...

An invaluable surv... ...n countries by Penny Lernou... ...ard-winning Latin America correspondent. ...2/29, 1981)*

SOLD OUT

## El Salvador

A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking, by James Petras, of the famed "White Paper." *(1980-1981)*

## Back Issues of The Nation

These and other back issues of *The Nation* (except the 120th anniversary issue) 1981 to the present (when available), are $3 each.

## THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

| REPRINTS (each title) | Qty. | Name | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1-9: $3.00 ea. | | | |
| 10-49: $2.00 ea. | | | |
| 50-99: $1.50 ea. | | | |
| 100-249: $1.25 ea. | | | |
| 250 or more: $1.00 ea. | | | |
| **BACK ISSUES $3.00 each** | | **Date** | |
| | | **Date** | |

N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax _____

**Total Enclosed** _____

**SEND TO:**

**Name** _____

**Address** _____

**City** _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

Mail check or money order to Nation Reprints, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. **Prepayment is required. All reprint sales final.**

Foreign orders (including Canada): Add $1 per issue. Payment must be made with an international money order (no service charge) or from a U.S. dollar account (add service charge: Canada, $5; all others, $15).

NR8908

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BOOKS & THE ARTS.

## Down the Tubes in London

PHILIP GREEN

Watching British television, I have come to question the dictum that mass culture can never tell us the truth about ourselves and the way we live—although that truth may be so painful that we can certainly understand the tendency to avoid it. Last fall, for example, the BBC aired a remarkable five-part series of legal dramas called *Blind Justice*, created by the well-known left-wing barrister and TV personality Helena Kennedy. She had tired of trying to discuss the corruption of law and justice under Thatcher on the talking-head shows that she had previously hosted, where she was forced to strive for the kind of "balance" that prohibits any challenge to the government's monopoly of the terms of public discourse.

Scripted by Peter Flannery, a young playwright, and guided through the mine fields of BBC self-censorship by a dedicated and skilled producer, Michael Wearing, *Blind Justice* dramatically explored such topics as police violence against people of color; the maltreatment of victims of sexual crimes; the cavalier course of the "justice" meted out to alleged Irish Republican Army terrorists; and the propensity of the secret service (M.I.5) to pursue its own version of state terrorism. Though the scripts never slighted counterarguments, their conclusions were radical. In an unforgettable final image, actress Jane Lapotaire, playing feminist barrister "Katherine Hughes," turned directly to the camera and spoke lines written by Kennedy herself: "Do you want to know what I think? I think that in England we've forgotten the meaning of liberty . . . and that's why we no longer care about justice." The moment did not seem at all gratuitous. Television's naturalistic presentation of an apparently seamless narrative, reinforced by Lapotaire's powerhouse persona (which makes even *L.A. Law*'s Susan Dey look as though she belongs back with the Partridge family) turned what could have been a typical popular entertainment into a compelling and persuasive political drama. Two weeks after the final episode, Kennedy and Lapotaire turned up together again, as initial signers of Charter 88 [see "A Bill of Rights for Britain," *The Nation*, December 19, 1988], for which *Blind Justice* might almost have served as a dramatic introduction.

The final episode of *Blind Justice*, which suggested that the secret service would turn to subversion and murder to keep Britain a "permanent blue" (the color of Toryism), caused BBC staffers to worry about its creators' "paranoia," but they must not have been watching their own screens or reading the newspapers. Since the publication abroad of Peter Wright's *Spycatcher*, it has been public knowledge that Britain is, among other things, the only NATO member ever to be subjected to a subversive attack against a legitimately elected government by its own security forces. There has been a recent spate of movies and TV films presenting Britain as a police state, including *Edge of Darkness*, shown on the BBC in 1985, and Alan Plater's *A Very British Coup*, which appeared on Channel 4 in mid-1988 and was rerun at Christmas time. Plater's script, adapted from a novel by Labor M.P. Chris Mullin, posits a conspiracy involving the head of M.I.5, members of the Tory establishment, the military and a Rupert Murdoch–type businessman to undermine a socialist Prime Minister. In another striking final conjunction of sound and image, the roar of helicopters is heard overhead as a drifting shadow slowly expunges the words "Polling Station." Britain as a kind of upmarket Chile is only a slight exaggeration: This is the nation, after all, where the government mobilized the police on a national scale to break the miners' strike; abolished the office of the most popular opposition politician, Ken Livingstone, leader of the defunct Greater London Council; and now proposes in a "reformed" Security Services Bill that M.I.5 should be authorized to protect national security "from actions intended to overthrow or undermine parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means."

None of these programs—that is, none of their conceivable indigenous equivalents—could ever be made for American television, commercial or public. But the occasional social realism of British TV extends beyond doomsday scenarios. On many shows there is a recognition, never encountered anywhere on American television, that the personal, the professional and the social *are* political. Thus, on *Blind Justice* the most interesting conflicts had to do with the nature of legal practice among radical lawyers: Should a feminist defend an accused rapist? Should a member of a legal co-op "take silk" (become a prestigious Queen's counsel)? It's impossible to overstate the exhilaration of seeing alternative modes of oppositional practice debated on nationwide television.

More subtly and even more unexpectedly, the witty sitcom *A Very Peculiar Practice*, rerun on the BBC last fall, presents life among the medical staff of a university. Aside from endless digs at the effects of Thatcher's cutbacks on university education, its most dramatic subtext is the continuing conflict between the liberal humanism of its male protagonist and the lesbian-feminist separatism of his only female colleague. Again, no such character has ever been seen on American television, for her lesbianism is more than just a vehicle for dramatizing a "social problem" (such as child custody or divorce). Asked by him for help in drafting an orientation speech to the student body, she replies that she can't help him because, though she wishes him well, he's "part of the problem." Though his speech is a success, the script never makes us doubt the validity of her argument that the deformations of gender hierarchy warp the lives of all college students. In a later episode, as a mild (and comical) venereal disease spreads across the campus, she points out to him that the disease is being passed from higher-level men (professors) to lower-level women (students and secretaries), and that the practice of medicine is thus necessarily ideological: "Illness," she tells him, "is another thing men do to women." In almost every episode, his universalism and her insistence on celebrating difference are structurally central, but their opposition is never abolished by simple-minded plot resolutions, let alone the ambiguous freeze-frames that have become the nervous tic of socially aware American television. Though he is clearly the antiheroic "hero," and she is in fact a rather unpleasant person, each way of life is rec-

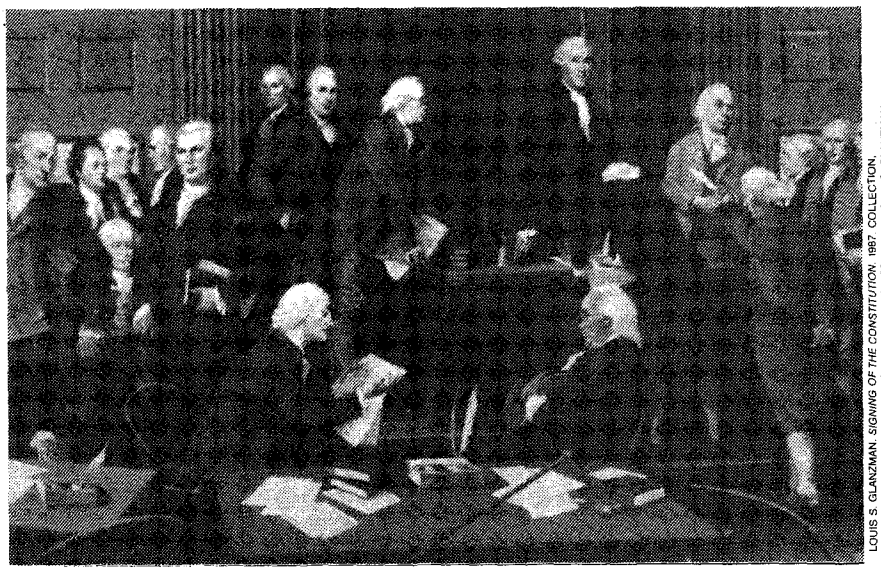
*Philip Green, author of* The Pursuit of Inequality *(Pantheon) and* Retrieving Democracy *(Roman and Allenheld), is living in London this year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ognized as necessary; the conflict is intractable and thus satisfying in a way the spurious melodramas of American prime time can never be.

Similarly, *South of the Border*, the BBC's answer to Channel 4's minority-oriented programming, features the unlikely female duo of an upscale black amateur detective who's left her boyfriend's agency, and her scruffy young Geordie partner who is an unrepentant petty thief—a far cry from *Cagney and Lacey*. Racial awareness and class consciousness are not just incidental but central to their lives—and to the cases they bumblingly pursue. In several episodes important figures organize criminal or even state terrorist enterprises and then step away, untouched, leaving small-fry criminals, who are often their acquaintances, holding the bag. A labor leader who is being blackmailed by a unionbusting, asset-stripping ownership says casually that "the class war goes on"; a young girl, advised that her black boyfriend should surrender after going AWOL from his viciously racist army unit, asks, "What, and give himself up to the course of British justice?" Again, these moments are integral rather than gratuitous to the stories. Nor are such stories unique. Realistic political consciousness finds such unlikely homes as the hospital sitcom *Only When I Laugh*, in which an angry patient refers to a Tory M.P. as a "representative of the capitalist class," and on soap operas such as *Eastenders*, *Brookside* and the long-running *Coronation Street*. Working-class and lower-middle-class characters, whose lives invariably revolve around money and its disasters, often comment on examples of the corrosive meanness that is part and parcel of Thatcher's social policy.

Documentary television, of course, must be more cautious, for it is watched carefully by ministers who could not care less about detective stories, and the rule of balance (which means that if the government is caught in an outrageous lie, it should be given a chance to lie about the lie) is usually invoked. The BBC had to withstand a good deal of intimidation before it finally showed Duncan Campbell's exposé of the secret Zircon spy satellite—but it did air. Even the commercial Thames Television produced *Death on the Rock*, a courageous and much detested documentary which had the temerity to suggest that the killing of three suspected I.R.A. terrorists by a British antiterrorist squad in Gibraltar last year may have been cold-blooded murder. More recently, Channel 4's regular current affairs series *Dispatches* carried a measured but powerful attack on the government's consistent falsification of statistics, carefully juxtaposing expert commentators with government spokesmen to show the latter to be outright liars. In addition, throughout the fall and winter seasons Channel 4, pursuant of its charge to represent minority viewpoints, has presented *The Divided Kingdom*, a series of discussions about such topics as Scotch and Welsh nationalism and the nature of the British establishment, involving Scottish nationalists Tom Nairn and Margo MacDonald, Welsh nationalist Kim Howells and the English journalist Beatrix Campbell, all of them well to the left on the British political spectrum; *The Enchanted Glass*, Tom Nairn's critical view of the monarchy, with *The Nation*'s Christopher Hitchens as presenter; and *Bandung File*, a provocatively titled series of programs about Third World cultures in Britain and abroad, produced and co-edited by the New Leftist Tariq Ali and by Darcus Howe, a black left-wing barrister. The counterparts of such people do not



LOUIS S. GLANZMAN, *SIGNING OF THE CONSTITUTION*, 1987. COLLECTION, INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK. PHOTO © 1986 LOUIS S. GLANZMAN.


# THE SPIRIT OF MODERN REPUBLICANISM

*The Moral Vision of the American Founders and the Philosophy of Locke*

**THOMAS L. PANGLE**

"In a profound work of intellectual history, Pangle reexamines the moral philosophy of the Founding Fathers and finds the emergence of a modern sense of 'virtue' unprecedented in classical or Christian tradition. . . . [Pangle] shows that, in fact, the most important influence on eighteenth-century American thinkers was John Locke."—*Booklist*

"[Pangle's] narrative sweeps the reader along with a growing sense of intellectual excitement and discovery."—Mary Ann Glendon, Harvard Law School

"The best, most neglected book of the United States Constitution's bicentennial season."—Thomas D'Evelyn, *Christian Science Monitor*

***Cloth $22.50 352 pages***

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS**

5801 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# HOW TO JEOPARDIZE A PERFECTLY GOOD FRIENDSHIP.

Give someone you care about a gift subscription to *The Nation*.

In all likelihood, the recipient will get just as enraged, worked up, and aggravated about the issues the magazine covers as our regular subscribers do.

That's because *The Nation* covers those issues with a critical spirit and independent perspective that set us apart from other publications. Which isn't surprising, since it's written by such original thinkers as Alexander Cockburn, Christopher Hitchens and Katha Pollitt.

And politics isn't all we cover. Our subscribers also enjoy our writing on the arts, which is of such extraordinary clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should give *The Nation* as a gift after all.

Just be sure your relationship can stand it.

**The Nation.**
**Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.**

**THE NATION**
**BOX 1953, MARION OH 43305**

YES! I THINK MY RELATIONSHIP CAN TAKE IT. Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $15 for the first gift and $12 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____ (Please print)
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
GIFT FROM (Your name) _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is $_____ for _____ subscription(s). (Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)
☐ Bill me later.

Foreign surface postage: add $7/24 issues, $14/one year. Air Mail rates available upon request. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

LD908


often appear on American network television.

Of course, it would be wrong to sentimentalize British television. For one thing, Margaret Thatcher takes a personal interest in trying to insure that every area of British life conforms to her vision of the future. In such a highly politicized setting it is impossible never to criticize a government that takes credit for the shape of every institution it hasn't already abolished. In addition, dimwitted "comedy" about knickers, soaps that seem to have been made during lunch hour, soporific documentaries and reruns of every American series ever made (Thames Television is indeed rerunning *The Partridge Family*) are standard fare. At its worst, British television sometimes seems to carry us through a time warp back to 1939, with the choice of going to the Laff Movie to see the latest Mischa Auer feature or to the Newsreel Theatre at Grand Central Station to see travelogues about the Balearic Islands. Nor do most newscasts and public affairs programs (especially on the BBC) challenge the government's monopoly of the terms of discourse, despite the important tradition of asking members of the shadow Cabinet to respond to ministerial statements. On a typical evening last fall, for example, a BBC newscaster spoke of the abolition of the right to silence in criminal trials as "more evidence of the government's commitment to abolish terrorism" and of a 15 percent pay increase for hard-pressed workers at a local Nissan plant as "another warning signal on the economic front."

Still, something is a lot better than nothing; but that something may not last much longer. The quality and independence of British television at its best exist only because the sometime commitment of professional journalists to "objectivity," balance and the liberal ideal of tolerance can survive better under Britain's publicly dominated television structure than in the private corporate milieu of U.S. television. But the Thatcher administration has made it clear that, like other outposts of potentially independent discourse, television must be subdued. An official censor's office has been created; the government's intimidation campaign against the BBC has been so relentless that the corporation is retreating from the defensible ideal of a balanced schedule to a spurious and destructive idea of "balance" within every single program; a vitriolic enemy of the nonexistent "left-wing bias" in British television and of public affairs programming in general has been appointed deputy chair of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (soon to become the Independent Television Commission); and plans are being bruited about to deregulate all of television and subject it to competitive commercial standards by replacing the BBC's license fee with a subscription service and abolishing the statutory requirement that the other commercial services support Channel 4.

Despite the fierceness of the straightforwardly political attack on television, deregulation is the more dangerous threat. It is only the prospect of a guaranteed income (the BBC's license fees, Channel 4's subvention) that enables producers to take risks; the result of subjecting all programming to market forces is visible on any page of *TV Guide*. One commentator on Thatcherism has remarked that its essence is, "If it can be moved, privatize it; if it can't be moved, control it." Deregulation combined with censorship, and consumer "sovereignty" with political intimidation, neatly illustrate that approach.

Together with seemingly unrelated efforts—many of them already successful—to wreck the National Health Service, centralize control over school curricula and over research and faculty in higher education, destroy the powers of local government, strip from trade unions the power (if not yet the right) to strike, and deprive defense counsel of the right to make peremptory challenges, the government's plans for British television cast an ironic light on Milton Friedman's contention that the free market is necessary to insure political freedom. On the contrary, the Thatcherite program, to use Jeane Kirkpatrick's helpful distinction, though only authoritarian in present practice, is profoundly totalitarian in its ambition. Margaret Thatcher has said that her aim is "to make socialism impossible": a slightly more polite but at least as definitive version of what Lenin called "smashing the old order" and Marxists used to call making "a new man." In pursuit of that aim the Thatcherites have gone far beyond the canny and perfectly legitimate Machiavellianism of buying working-class votes through council flat sales and the distribution of shares in denationalized industries. They now attempt the extirpation of all potential loci of dissent or opposition that might threaten the intellectual hegemony they hope to achieve. The implica-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions of this, though it is unlikely to be achieved, are deeply frightening; it seems almost picayune to note that along the way Margaret Thatcher will probably consign the British National Health Service and British television, once the finest institutions of their kinds in the world, to the dustbin of history. □

# Martin Luther King in Context

WILLIAM H. CHAFE

PARTING THE WATERS: America in the King Years, 1954–1963. *By Taylor Branch. Simon and Schuster. 1,064 pp. $24.95.*

The problem of the twentieth century, W.E.B. DuBois observed in 1903, is the problem of the color line. In *Parting the Waters*, Taylor Branch has provided a monumental reaffirmation of DuBois's insight. With eloquence and sensitivity, he has shown us how the life of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. refracted and illuminated that color line—even as black Americans sought once and for all to end its command of our national soul.

This is a great book for many reasons. Unlike other King biographers, Branch grounds his narrative in the black church, that central institution of black American history about which white Americans know so little. Here we see the awesome and sometimes corrupt power of the clergy; the capacity of black congregations—just like white ones—to divide over class, status, bloodlines and liturgical style; the ability of a "chosen people," propelled by a sense of divine mission and the transforming power of their music, to transcend these divisions and struggle against oppression; the torment of churchgoers, concerned about their jobs and the safety of their children as they confront the challenge to risk all; the anguished spiritual explorations of a preacher, plumbing the depths of his own sinfulness, seeking some form of absolution. All of this is at the heart of Martin Luther King's life, with its rich texture of frailty and triumph, and we could not understand any of it if Taylor Branch had not made the black church such a central part of his story.

We are indebted to him as well for presenting, in evocative detail, the larger civil rights struggle that provided a context for King's specific actions. We are shown repeatedly how other institutions, organizations and actors functioned independently to become agents in history as important as King himself. Although there may be some from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who will still feel that their group does not receive the full recognition it deserves as the vanguard in the struggle, almost all readers will appreciate Branch's sensitivity to the role of the sit-ins; the courage and endurance of SNCC supporters in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi; and the vital challenge to "moderates" of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference posed by SNCC activists. The chapter titles that pair SNCC's movement in Greenwood with King's in Birmingham, or Robert Moses in McComb with King in Kansas City (at the National Baptist Convention), reflect Branch's insight that this was a struggle of many actors, all of whom must be acknowledged if King's life is to be appreciated. The same concern pervades Branch's treatment of Roy Wilkins and the N.A.A.C.P., James Farmer and the Congress of Racial Equality, A. Phillip Randolph and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. If one result is a 1,064-page first volume, another is the kind of detailed presentation of characters in the story that help it become a work of art.

Some of those characters are heroes (or antiheroes) presented here with such rich description that we gain a new sense not only of the people themselves but of the ideas they represent and the conflicts they embody. No one who reads this volume can fail to appreciate, for example, the simple decency and courage of John Doar, an attorney in the Justice Department's civil rights division under both Eisenhower and Kennedy. Doar broke free of bureaucratic restraints to seek evidence of interference with voter registration in Haywood County, Tennessee; single-handedly prevented racial riots in Jackson, Mississippi; and probably experienced more direct contact with movement participants than any other Justice Department employee.

Doar's steadfast and active commitment to justice becomes a quiet but powerful counterpoint to the legalistic argument against Federal intervention in local affairs that is associated with Burke Marshall, Doar's superior in the Kennedy Administration. Although never unfair to Marshall, Branch shows again and again how narrow states' rights concerns about the dangers of creating a national police force prevented him (and Kennedy) from responding adequately to police intimidation and terrorist violence in the South. Only when four little girls in a Birmingham Sunday school were blown away by Klan dynamite in September 1963, Branch points out, did Marshall endorse full-scale F.B.I. intervention, "ignoring the previously cited legalism and jurisdictional obstacles." If Doar embodied the best instincts of white liberal concern with racism, Marshall embodied the narrow concern for bureaucratic procedure that so often prevented even a liberal government from responding appropriately to the horrors committed against civil rights workers.

Ironically, it was Robert Kennedy, both men's boss, who most completely personified their contradictory traits, constantly moving between passionate advocacy of immediate action and calculated justification of delay in government response. In a way few before him have done, Branch illuminates Kennedy's pattern of ambivalence as he screamed at Sargent Shriver for intervening when King was arrested in Georgia in 1960, only later to call the presiding judge himself; or when he condemned the Freedom Rides and then took King's advice to secure an Interstate Commerce Commission order against segregation of bus terminal facilities; or, most important, when he moved from aggrieved bitterness toward James Baldwin and others who attacked his civil rights record to fiery insistence on hiring more blacks in government. The portrayal is riveting.

With equal deftness, Branch brings to life the pivotal black figures in the civil rights movement. Although most readers familiar with the history of the movement will know the names Robert Moses, James Lawson, James Bevel and Charles Sherrod, *Parting the Waters* treats them with such fresh vision that we gain a new appreciation for what they represented as well as for their personal contributions to the movement. Whether the revelation has to do with the "hot Gospel" of

*William H. Chafe is Alice Mary Baldwin Professor of History at Duke University. Among his books is* Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom *(Oxford University Press), which won the Robert F. Kennedy Book Award in 1981.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

James Bevel, the theological acuteness of Lawson, the mystical paradoxes of Moses or the tortured self-examination of Sherrod, the reader leaves with a renewed sense of the complexity of the movement and its members. (One could only wish that comparable attention were devoted to more of the women activists in the movement.)

There are inevitably some problems. Branch does an excellent job of placing each moment of the civil rights struggle in historical context. Yet sometimes his history is wrong. Harry Truman did order the desegregation of the armed forces in 1948—but it took five years for the order to be fully implemented, though Branch implies that it took effect immediately.

Similarly, while Branch explores an extraordinary array of written and oral sources, usually to good effect, there are occasional lapses, most of them stemming from an overreliance on oral history. In discussing the stance of the Kennedy presidential campaign toward civil rights, for example, Branch depends heavily on a source—Louis Martin—who is given credit for many of the positive things J.F.K. did. The same source is highly critical of other black civil rights advisers, especially Marjorie Lawson, leading Branch to dismiss them as inconsequential "socialites." Branch seems not to have consulted the Kennedy papers on these issues. There he would have found a memorandum in which Lawson, the "socialite," took Kennedy to task for being too cold and intellectual in his approach to blacks, urged him to reach out to black voters emotionally and recommended that Kennedy cultivate Harry Belafonte, Carl Rowan and others and eventually make some bold national gesture to win over black skeptics. Whether this advice was viewed positively or negatively by Kennedy (or by Martin), these were important recommendations, almost all of which Kennedy heeded.

There are related lapses. In telling the history of the Freedom Rides, Branch provides an account of conversations between the Justice Department and officials in Alabama and Mississippi, all based on oral history interviews at the Kennedy Library. Yet there are verbatim transcripts of many of the actual conversations in the archives, which Branch did not use, presumably because of his preference for oral sources.

Also disturbing is the number of times we are offered what seem to be actual conversations between King and others when in fact these "dialogues" are reconstructed not from tapes or transcripts made at the time (such as F.B.I. wiretaps) but from recollections of these conversations at a distance of twenty years. Branch fails to distinguish in the text between such reconstructed conversations and the real thing.

Still, these caveats pale before the immensity of Branch's achievement. What he does, ultimately, is reveal the interior dynamics shaping the most powerful social movement in American history and the way the movement was defined and controlled by those who were threatened by its message of racial and economic equality. However excellent Branch's description of the movement's evolution, it is the dialectical relationship between the movement and the government that he presents most acutely. In recent years we have learned more than we perhaps ever wanted to know about secret governments, surveillance and countersurveillance, the politics of intimidation and the scandals that seem endemic to those in high places. But never before have we had described in such detail the process through which those who wield power, secretly or overtly, retain control and destroy those who would rebel against them.

The key actors in this process were King, the Kennedy brothers and J. Edgar Hoover. King's goal was autonomy and self-determination for the movement. The Kennedy brothers sought some racial change, but at a pace controlled on their terms, with minimal political damage. A secondary goal was to redirect the energies and policies of the F.B.I. Hoover's goal was power over both King and the Kennedys. If in the end all the actors could point to some success, the one who retained the power to destroy all others was J. Edgar Hoover.

Hoover and the Kennedys shared a determination to control the civil rights movement by defining how and with what information the movement would be understood by a national audience. Thus the F.B.I. provided edited versions of its intelligence to the Justice Department and the President in order to shape the debate there. Both the F.B.I. and the Administration molded the way the media reported the movement, establishing what was extremist or responsible, true or false.

The most important weapon in the effort to control the movement was the allegation of Communist infiltration and subversion. So pervasive was the fear of Communism (or, more to the point, the fear of being labeled "soft on Communism") that simply raising the possibility of connections between Communism and the movement gave license to the government to limit the movement's autonomy, constrict its self-determination and subvert its integrity. In one of the most brilliant and devastating sections of his book, Branch describes King being besieged three times on the same day with the charge that Stanley Levison, a New York lawyer, was a Communist agent. (Levison was identified by the F.B.I. in the 1950s as a member of the Communist Party, yet according to its own records he had ceased active participation in the party before he met King or became involved with the S.C.L.C.). First came Burke Marshall, then Robert Kennedy and finally, in a tête-à-tête in the White House Rose Garden, the President himself. Each portrayed Levison as a foreign agent, not to be trusted. Each, when asked by King for proof, indicated that the evidence was so secret that to produce it would compromise the highest levels of national security.

In that one vignette, Branch summarizes the whole process of control. Those in power define what is real. No one else has the right to question that definition, and anyone who does must be part of the security problem. But what King did not know, and we do, is that none of the three men who confronted him ever saw the supposed evidence. They too were captives of the myth that for anyone to know the truth would threaten national security. And so one more time, the politics of anticommunism defined what a movement could or could not do—without any accountability.

The winner in all this, of course, was Hoover—a man who could threaten his closest associate with humiliation and banishment for showing him a report

Join The Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes a subscription to "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*, and invitations to many *Nation*-sponsored events.

For further information write or call Sandra Zickefoose, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that established there was no Communist influence in the civil rights movement and no Communist threat in the United States, and who successfully combated Robert Kennedy's efforts to limit his power and redirect the F.B.I.'s energies. In the latter battle Hoover had a secret weapon—John Kennedy's sex life. Tragically, this vulnerability—plus the Kennedys' anticommunism—gave Hoover the control he needed to force Robert Kennedy into doing whatever he wanted.

One of the things Hoover wanted was a wiretap on King. Ellen Rometsch, a suspected East German spy, had been one of Kennedy's mistresses at the White House. She had also been involved with Bobby Baker and numerous senators. The Senate was about to investigate the scandal; Hoover knew it all, and Robert Kennedy understood that. The same week that the Senate ordered an investigation of Baker, Hoover asked for authorization to tap King's phone. Believing that he had no options in light of his brother's situation, the Attorney General signed the order. Two weeks later, he implored Hoover to intervene with the Senate leadership to keep the Rometsch matter from being raised in the Senate investigation; the senators agreed. And so the circle was completed one more time. Nothing could underline more powerfully the extent to which private lives intersect with public policies. Branch tells the story with restraint, caution and appreciation of the complexity of the drama. Yet because the tale unfolds with such inexorable force, we feel all the more diminished by the horrible denouement and the foreknowledge of what is to come in the second volume.

Perhaps the only thing that can revive and inspirit us at such a point is to return to the other side of the dialectic. Thus we need to remember the soaring voices of the congregations from Greenwood to Birmingham; the vision of Bob Moses, who asked, "When there is no justice, what is the state but a robber band enlarged?"; the candor of Charles Sherrod as he went through the Gethsemane of his self-doubt; and the fierce intensity of King's "Letter From a Birmingham Jail." Who is the Negro's greatest enemy? he asked. "Not the White Citizen's Council-er or the Ku Klux Klanner," he answered, "but the white moderate who is more devoted to 'order' than to justice, who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice." Because of his church, the young people who were his critics and his own extraordinary capacity for change and for growth, King would carry on the fight against "order," against the power of the mighty to control and define him, and for justice. By the end of the first nine years of the era begun by *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, Branch writes, "King had crossed over as a patriarch like Moses into a land less bounded by race. To keep going, he became a pillar of fire." This book helps us appreciate why such phrases belong in a history of our continuing struggle to come to grips with the color line. □

# Talking About a Revolution

JACKIE STEVENS

WOMEN, CULTURE, AND POLITICS. *By Angela Y. Davis. Random House. 256 pp. $17.95.*

Suppose a woman from a middle-class family in Birmingham, Alabama, attended Brandeis University, where she studied under Herbert Marcuse; did some graduate work with Theodor Adorno in Frankfurt; received a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of California, San Diego; and then taught at the University of California, Los Angeles. Chances are that she would be studying revolutionary movements.

But Angela Davis is African-American. Her middle-class Birmingham neighborhood was known as Dynamite Hill because of the frequent attacks on the houses owned by African-American families who had begun to move into a predominately white part of town; during her junior year in France in 1963, Davis read about the bombing of a Birmingham church in which three childhood acquaintances of hers were killed; she was fired from her teaching job for political activity outside the classroom that was "unbefitting a university professor." In 1972, Davis was tried and found not guilty of murder in the shooting of a Marin County judge, but only after she had spent two months on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Ten Most Wanted list and seventeen months in jail.

It is not surprising, then, that Angela Davis would be more interested in joining a revolution than in talking about one. Davis became a cultural icon for the left when she accomplished the almost impossible feat of politicizing her persecution. Instead of allowing Governor Ronald Reagan to make an example of the Commie with the strange-looking Afro, Davis used the media to publicize the racism of the penal system. In 1976 and 1980 Davis was Gus Hall's presidential running mate on the Communist Party ticket. She works for a number of African-American organizations as well as the Communist Party and teaches at San Francisco State University.

Political leaders often need to use the broad stroke, to master the art of making complicated things appear straightforward. Sometimes the goal is to evoke the visceral truths in twenty-second sound bites; at other times, the objective is to reassure the converted at rallies. In books, however, that technique calls attention to itself, as readers notice how the broad strokes avoid complexity, minimize contrasts, perhaps even bore them. There are few surprises for any audience in this collection of speeches and essays written between 1983 and 1988—neither new truths nor affirmations of old sensibilities in new ways. And there is no sign that Davis herself has come to any special understandings since *Women, Race and Class* was published in 1981 (to which *Women, Culture and Politics* is less a sequel than a re-edited version, with a couple of new scenes thrown in at the end).

Both books contain the same argument: Since the abolitionist movement there has been a coincidence of strategy and ideology between labor and African-American organizations, but feminists inevitably sabotage the alliance. According to Davis, capitalism is the root of all contemporary evil, and feminism has nourished that root. Thus, class analysis alone can lead us through the quagmire of oppressions comprising racism, elitism, sexism and homophobia, and socialism will be waiting for us at the other end.

For instance, in "Slaying the Dream: The Black Family and the Crisis of Capitalism" Angela Davis with Fania Davis, her sister, confront Daniel

*Jackie Stevens is a graduate student in the political science department at the University of California, Berkeley.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LE ROUGE ET LE NOIR!

Nation T-Shirts are available in either le classique red or le basic black. Both T-shirts are 100 percent cotton with white lettering. "The Nation" is printed on the front and "Since 1865" on the back.

**$10.95*** each, postpaid.

Le Special Discount:
3 or more, $8.95 each

**Delivery in two weeks.**

Please send me ____ red T-shirts in the following sizes __S, __M, __L, __XL.

Please send me ____ black T-shirts in the following sizes __S, __M, __L, __XL.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

Send orders to: The Nation, Box RN, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

*New York residents add appropriate sales tax. Foreign orders add 33 percent. Checks/money orders payable to The Nation. 8908


Moynihan's "blame the victim" rhetoric. They write that the high rate of pregnancy among African-American teen-agers

> is a symptom of a deeply rooted structural crisis in the U.S. monopoly-capitalist economy. . . . There is a direct correlation between the unprecedented rates of unemployment among Black teenagers and the rise in the birthrate among Black women under twenty. Yet the Reagan administration's policy shapers consistently formulated the problem of teenage pregnancies in terms that implicitly held Black girls partially responsible for the depressed state of the Black community.

The final sentence of that essay (similar to Angela Davis's conclusion in other pieces) states:

> If we as Black people in the United States want to guarantee that the dream for a better life is realized through our children, we must recognize the importance of setting our sights on a socialist future.

Although there is much to applaud in Angela Davis's focus on the role of monopoly capitalism in the perpetuation of racism and classism, the book leaves important questions unaddressed, to say nothing of unanswered.

Davis's structuralism is like an unassembled Tinkertoy set. All the pieces are there (the defense industry, homophobia, consumerism, sexism, denial, racism), but Davis never puts them together in a coherent model. In the passage on African-American teen-age pregnancy—as in the sections where she observes that sexism, homophobia, racism and classism are cut from the same cloth, and that these patterns can only be destroyed after the socialist revolution—Davis is miserly with the details of causality. Why the correlation between unemployment and teen-age pregnancy? Do people without jobs have sex more often? Do they make different decisions about abortions? Are they dependent on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which gives them an incentive to procreate (Moynihan's argument)? The same problem arises with respect to other issues. I have my own ideas about the relation between homophobia and racism; why do I have no understanding of the link that, according to Davis, binds them together?

Davis's thesis that capitalist relations harm people is noncontroversial compared with the second of the book's not-so-leit motifs. She states that the women's movement as such has an essentially middle-class (and that means white) agenda, and so has done little to challenge capitalism or racism. In an address to a conference on women and racism, sponsored by the Minnesota Coalition for Battered Women, Davis says of white feminist leaders,

> Their theories and practice have frequently implied that the purest and most direct challenge to sexism is one exorcised of elements related to racial and economic oppression—as if there were such a phenomenon as abstract womanhood abstractly suffering sexism and fighting back in an abstract historical context. In the final analysis, that state of abstractions turns out to be a very specific set of conditions: white middle-class women suffering and responding to the sexist attitudes and conduct of white middle-class men. This approach leaves the existing socioeconomic system with its fundamental reliance on racism and class bias unchallenged.

Even worse, white feminists have been prone to unabashed racist attitudes themselves: "It would not be inappropriate to raise questions concerning the underlying racism of some of Geraldine Ferraro's supporters."

In *Women, Race and Class* Davis offers some especially nasty examples of racist feminists, which clearly inform her assertions in *Women, Culture and Politics*. For instance, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who was a major actor in the women's suffrage movement, wrote in an 1865 letter to the editor of the *New York Standard*: "If the 2 millions of Southern black women are not to be secured the rights of person, property, wages and children, their emancipation is but another form of slavery. In fact, it is better to be the slave of an educated white man, than of a degraded, ignorant black one."

And yet, if Davis truly believes that feminism per se is irrelevant to socialist revolution, and if the struggle between the sexes is only a distraction, lecturing middle-class feminists on their misconceived priorities is like blaming the pine tree for not bearing acorns. If so-called bourgeois feminist interests are intrinsically opposed to those of proletariat men and women (her jargon, not mine), it is hard to see why she even speaks to these women's organizations. Surely Davis had better speak to the proletariat if she intends to foment a working-class revolution, but there is not a single address to a labor audience in this collection. Seventeen of the eighteen speeches and articles are directed toward white feminists or the African-American

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

middle class. In her earlier work Davis was far less concerned with white feminist racism than with black male sexism. In *An Autobiography*, published in 1974 and just reissued, she criticized black nationalists LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka) and Ron Karenga, in part because of what they said and in part because of her experience in working with their political organizations. Indeed, a major topic of letters between Davis and George Jackson, who wrote *Soledad Brother* and was murdered by a San Quentin prison guard, was his previous sexism; Davis expressed more than a little pride in her role in changing his belief that African-American women needed to be subservient to African-American men. The absence in *Women, Culture and Politics* of a single reference to the misogyny of black nationalists such as Eldridge Cleaver, Baraka and Ishmael Reed is confusing and troubling.

Davis's actions speak more complexly than her words. At some level she must recognize that there are indeed progressive forces within feminism that she wishes to encourage. That is not the same as issuing a general appeal to the humanistic impulses in all of us: She makes no speeches to the Rotary Club, for instance. Why is Davis reluctant to elaborate on her tacit commitment to feminism? She seems to assume that her audience is incapable of understanding anything complicated.

Perhaps that is why Davis's voice in this book is not especially compelling. Bent on convincing feminists and others of their evils, Davis can manage only a recitation of statistics and anecdotes. Whether despite or because of the strong polemics, her observations sound thin.

An excerpt Davis quotes from June Jordan's "Poem of My Rights" displays a different way of making an argument. Jordan writes that she feels out of place and fears going out alone. In France, she explains, if the guy doesn't ejaculate it isn't a rape; she compares herself to Namibia, and asks how one knows what it looks like when Pretoria ejaculates. Jordan's writing is effective, and not only because of the power of poetry to show connections. Her political points resonate because they seem to come from an honest construction of her own experience. Davis displays that quality in but a single essay.

That essay is "Women in Egypt: A Personal View," which was Davis's contribution to *Women: A World Report* (Oxford University Press, 1985). The article is politically informative and provocative not only because of Davis's perceptions but also because of the verbatim quotations from her meetings with Egyptian feminists. Egyptian women were outraged that Davis accepted an assignment to write on women and sex with respect to Egyptian women. Many of the feminists Davis met rejected the Western obsession with the sexual practices of the Third World as racism; but some pointed out that women who are sexually oppressed are stifled in other ways as well. Davis discusses the implications of each position with feeling and intelligence. It is unfortunate that the conundrum of women, culture and politics in the United States does not receive such treatment. □

# THEATER.

## THOMAS M. DISCH

### Black and Blue

At last there is a new musical that it's possible honestly to rave about. It has been a full year since a still extant musical opened on Broadway (if one doesn't count the much bemoaned but fabulously presold *Legs Diamond*), but *Black and Blue* at the Minskoff Theatre merits any critic's glitziest adjectives: Sparkling! Dazzling! Brilliant! Smashing! Incredible! Enchanting! Not to mention those basic imperatives, See It! and Don't Miss It! (Vocabulary courtesy of the *New York Times* Theater Directory.) Alas, *The Time*'s Frank Rich was not moved to bestow one of these primal show-biz adjectives on *Black and Blue*, and so, unless word of mouth has one of its rare triumphs, it may not be destined for a long run. Therefore, I urge everyone whose blood can still be quickened by great singing and dancing to head for the Minskoff with all deliberate speed.

*Black and Blue* is a bookless musical—a "musical revue," as its subtitle makes clear. Its sets are a nonrepresentational mélange of curtains, scrims, steps, flats and flashing lights, and a bandstand that can slide up to the footlights for the band's solo moments. The costumes are supreme flash: sequins, feathers, glittering fringe, every variety of high hat and tails, and "diamond" bracelets that would make even Leona Helmsley blush for their immodesty. Both sets and costumes are the creations of Claudio Segovia and Hector Orezzoli, the two Argentine showmen who are the impresarios of this event (and of two earlier revue hits, *Tango Argentino* and *Flamenco Puro*). Frank Rich's chaste taste tsk-tsked at their design efforts as "gaudy settings of tourist-trap kitsch," but my own decadent nature has always delighted in excess of glamour and playful ostentation. Busby Berkeley was gaudy and kitschy, but how else could he have been awesome?

The sets, of course, are of no moment unless they are settings for great talent, and the stage of the Minskoff is awash with talent, beginning with the four-sizes-larger-than-life presence of blues chanteuse Ruth Brown, a wholly original stage presence with an aggressive component to even her bluesiest moments, which can crisp eyebrows in the balcony, and a genius for bawdry, as in her baleful, teasing rendition of a song like "If I Can't Sell It, I'll Keep Sittin' on It" (apropos a secondhand chair she's offering for sale). She shares top billing with two other blues singers of diva stature, Linda Hopkins and Carrie Smith, and all three have prior claims to fame that make their gowns and tiaras seem like simple justice. When they sing, listening becomes the meaning of life.

In alternation with (and sometimes in complement to) the divas' arias, a chorus of twelve dancers, plus eight other featured tap-dancers, perform wonders. The second act of the show is particularly rich in great dance numbers, choreographed by Frankie Manning (fast and furious), Cholly Atkins (slow swirls and swoops), and Henry LeTang, who has two show-stoppers: the literally show-stopping finale and a duet danced by the chorus's Angela Hall and Eugene Fleming, who use their one opportunity to dance *and* sing to make a persuasive case for being co-starred in their own musical comedy at such time as *Black and Blue* is no longer around.

Did I mention that *Black and Blue* is an all-black musical and that it is an homage to black performers and composers of the 1920s and 1930s? Inevitably, such a retrospect raises questions about the connections between race and taste, though these questions are not ordinarily addressed in print. Usually it is considered sufficient to applaud the talent and commend the "soul" of the performers, while accepting as a social given that so many of Broadway's best musical entertainments in recent years have been all (or almost all) black: *Dream Girls*, *Sophisticated Ladies*, *The Gospel at Colonus*, *Ain't Misbehavin'*,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Sarafina!* And the list could go on much longer. It is as though the theater is the one economic sphere in which equal opportunity exists, in which the fix is not in and the best men win. Make that music rather than simply theater, and the dominance of black talent is as incontrovertible as the dominance of WASPS in investment banking.

The white response to this can take various forms. Direct imitation, like that of Elvis Presley, Sophie Tucker or Fred Astaire (surely, the most honorable, and if the talent's there, certain of reward). But there is also imitation flavored with parody: the minstrel show and Amos 'n' Andy tradition, and this has sometimes been reflected back into black performance art, Stepin Fetchit being the archetypal blackfaced black. The problem in putting on a show like *Black and Blue* is how to affirm the black art of an earlier era without somehow slipping into minstrel show self-parody and self-deprecation. I found myself becoming progressively more uncomfortable as I watched the recent revival of *Ain't Misbehavin'* at the Ambassador. While I could not gainsay the vocalism of Nell Carter and her four co-stars, it seemed to me that the thrust of all too many songs was to make the singers figures of fun, whose exaggerated sexual posturings were meant to be a source of amusement. Neither of the men in the show registered as sexy by any contemporary standard of sleaze or allure; their strutting came across as buffoonish and elicited no end of chuckles and snickers from the mostly white audience. But maybe I was wrong; maybe I was being a spoilsport and a party pooper. If Nell Carter et al. were enjoying themselves, shouldn't I? Might she not simply be poking fun at a period style, the way *The Boy Friend* and *Little Mary Sunshine* have fun with the corresponding white period styles of the same era?

One of the great things about *Black and Blue* is that while it has its share of parodic, campy glee, there is never that uncomfortable, queasy-making ambiguity as to what the fun is *about*. Perhaps the reason for this is simply that this show is so much larger and showcases such diverse talents, including a chorus line of twelve elegant and entirely desirable men and women, virtual role models of gender identity. (I may, of course be in error, for Frank Rich sniffed that one number was "utterly unerotic." What can I say but *à chacun son goût*?) Dancers are, more than any other kind of performer, role models, at least for that part of the audience that is still up to cutting a rug themselves, and there is probably no art so subversive of racial intolerance as dance. Who can watch great dancing, especially of the ballroom variety, without fantasizing oneself a partner in that dance? Just that imaginative process has been going on for most of this century, and it is part of what *Black and Blue* specifically celebrates. Just because music is such an irresistible Dionysian force, the only defense racists have against it is to proscribe it entirely. The town fathers knew what they were about in that town in Missouri where they refused to let the high school have a prom. After one fox trot, such towns simply crumble into dust.

Minstrel show self-parody is not the only potential mine field. There is also the matter of the content and subtext of so many blues songs, not just their ever-renewed lament that "my man done me wrong," but the customary persona of the singer as a prostitute in a masochistic relationship with a pimp. In *Black and Blue* this vein of fancy reaches its apotheosis in a duet by Brown and Hopkins, "T'Ain't Nobody's Bizness If I Do," in which the two women vie in protesting which of them has been more willingly brutalized. I think that very word is used. With Hedda Nussbaum still in the headlines, it seems an odd boast. If feminists need a new target for censure and reform, they might consider blues singers (indeed, I think that would make a wonderful book for a musical, à la *Guys and Dolls*).

There is another way to look at the blues persona, and that is as an artifice that allows the singer to be forthright about sexuality, its appetites and pitfalls. Masks traditionally are an excuse for honesty, and honesty is a force that can't easily be resisted or denied. In a culture in which the aesthetic/emotional divide between Shirley Temple and Jeanette MacDonald was inconsiderable, the songs and singers celebrated in *Black and Blue* must have possessed a force almost like dynamite. The dominant white culture could either refuse to listen or else be assimilated (which could take the form, from a black point of view, of co-optation).

The lamentable *Legs Diamond* is a fascinating relict of that process, two-plus hours of white performers pretending to be Prohibition gangsters with operative genitalia. They don't even manage to look naughty. And why? Because the songs utterly lack soul and the dancing is in the worst Radio City Music Hall tradition of boot camp close-order drill. It's almost worth seeing as an object lesson in what's wrong with the Broadway musical. Better, however, that you should enjoy an object lesson in what's right: *Black and Blue*. □

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to The Nation Institute.
For information write or call: Denis Berger, Director, The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

# MUSIC.

## GENE SANTORO

### Lou Reed

The Velvet Underground has had a remarkable posthumous career. Taken up by Andy Warhol soon after their formation in 1965—he put them on the road, produced their first album and furnished the artwork that made its cover a collectible—the Velvet Underground became chic in some New York circles. That enthusiasm didn't exactly mushroom: Their shows, especially outside New York, were sparsely attended and their albums barely sold.

And no wonder. While the counterculture was painting itself Day-Glo, ingesting consciousness-expanding substances and organizing its politics, Lou Reed, at the V.U.'s creative core, was penning lyrics about heroin, sadomasochism and street violence. The music was shot through with grungy feedback, Reed's howling-at-the-abyss guitar and John Cale's sawed-to-the-bone electrified viola and droning keyboards; underneath rumbled Maureen Tucker's drums and Sterling Morrison's guitar and bass. It was a deadly and riveting mix, heightened on their first album, *The Velvet Underground & Nico* (Verve), by the icy vocals of Dietrich-pretender Nico. Between that and *White Light/White Heat* (Verve), the V.U. brought the Marquis de Sade's savage ironies into the twentieth century.

The V.U. staggered along for two years after Cale left in 1968 but the astringency and excess that powered them had fizzled out. By the time Reed went solo in 1970-71, he was on his way to self-parody. He spent a lot of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1970s recycling or unearthing songs he'd written during the Velvets period; he seemed to be wandering through identities, trying them on, discarding them without even a shrug. He attacked the first wave of his disciples, glam-rocker protopunks like the New York Dolls, but reconfigured himself on *Transformer* (R.C.A.) to emulate glam-rocker supreme David Bowie. He stopped playing the guitar and left his live music to uneven bands. He got bloated from booze and drugs, sped and vitamined himself down to Dickensian thinness (the Bowie look), cut and dyed his hair and cut some utterly spectacular tunes (the hilarious space-shot sendup "Satellite of Love," the grimly funny jive of "Sally Can't Dance"). The street poet of New York, as he was billed, rode a creative roller coaster—*Growing Up in Public* (Arista), as his album cover had it.

The punk/New Wave revolt penetrated Reed's solipsistic universe. On the one hand, bands like Television and their offshoot, Richard Hell and the Voidoids, drew creative ideas from Reed's V.U. material; on the other, they disregarded most of what he'd done afterward. Reed's reaction was again to co-opt, but this time he got lucky. When Hell's Voidoids ground to a halt, Reed picked up guitarist Robert Quine (and later drummer Fred Maher), added bassist Fernando Saunders and drummer Doane Perry and thus assembled the band that would return him to the front ranks of rock and roll.

Their only album, *The Blue Mask* (R.C.A.), chronicles Reed's genuinely harrowing descent into the hells of sex- and drug-driven terror, rage and violence, a place nobody else can plumb with his scarred power. Even the apparently gentle songs bite. The rockers feature Saunders's growling, octave-jumping lines and Perry's vicious rhythms. Quine, a hard-core Reed fan since the 1960s and an important guitarist on the postpunk scene, convinced Reed to play guitar again and re-created the Velvets' droning chordal textures and body-riddling solos. Like that early work, this album runs on disjunctions—between words and music, between socially accepted values and horrors from the id, between apparent meanings and actual events.

"The Gun," a story of robbery and rape, is effective because of the tension between the icily restrained music and the lurid lyrics; "The Blue Mask" is a litany of self-hating incantations; "Underneath the Bottle," an alcoholic's rationalizations, gets an almost jaunty setting with melodic country trills. But the killer is "Waves of Fear," an anxiety nightmare that rides out on Quine's deliberately raw and formless guitar solo, as disturbing as a baby in a blender. That was in 1981. A year later came Reed's new mainstream look and sound. He started sloughing off his band and mixed Quine's guitar to near-inaudibility on *Legendary Hearts* (R.C.A.). By the time of *New Sensations* (R.C.A.), in 1984, Reed had become a self-parodic name-dropper.

Last month, Reed and John Cale reunited in a Brooklyn church to preview their fourteen "Songs for 'Drella." These will form the backbone of a music theater piece (to premiere in the fall at the Brooklyn Academy of Music's Next Wave 1989 Festival) about Andy Warhol and the scene that swirled around him. The music came across powerful and promising and unpretentious. I was so relieved and inspired I went home and plowed through my old Velvets records, my favorite 1970s cuts, *Rock 'n' Roll Animal* (R.C.A.), *The Blue Mask* and even the videotaped *A Night With Lou Reed.*

The very next day brought his newest album, *New York* (Sire), to my door, along with the predictable chorus of critical raves greeting its release. Lou: The street poet of New York. The archetypal punk. The legend in his own time. But this is the new improved legend. After touring for Amnesty International and appearing on the antiapartheid *Sun City* album, Reed has undergone an across-the-board political consciousness-raising. Living in exurban New Jersey, he's become an environmentalist; married and settled, he's apologetic about sexism, vehement about anti-Semitism and virtuously down on crack.

Unfortunately, the product (as record companies call their output) at hand displays just how unsubtle and fuzzy the new Lou Reed's social awareness is. There's "Common Ground," a muddled anti-anti-Semite attack on Kurt Waldheim, the Pope and Jesse Jackson; the empty rhetoric of "There Is No Time"; the implicit sterilize-'em solution of "Endless Cycle"; the warmed-over Springsteen Vietnam vet homilies of "Xmas in February"; and the jejune pseudo-myth called "Last Great American Whale."

To be fair, all Lou Reed albums contain moments nobody needs, but on a good or great record they are more than compensated for. And *New York* does have good tunes that showcase Reed's

# EVENTS.

**1989 MARXIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE**

THURSDAY TO SUNDAY, MARCH 16 TO 19

University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky

Plenaries on Rainbow and Political Democracy, Marxist and Religious Activism, Recent Developments in Socialist Countries. Varied program.

For information: Marxist Educational Press, 215 Ford Hall, Church Street, SE, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455, (612) 722-5964.

**WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS COMMEMORATIVE SYMPOSIUM**

A symposium marking the 50th anniversary of Justice Douglas's appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court

APRIL 15 TO 17

Seattle, Washington

Papers, commentaries and addresses by 30 nationally distinguished legal, historical and social science scholars

For further information/registration materials: William O. Douglas Institute, P.O. Box 45745, Seattle, WA 98145.

**THE BAKER AMENDMENT**

Why can't Soviet trade unionists meet with trade unionists in the U.S.?

Hear **Fred Bamoury** and **Stanley Faulkner** speak on the Baker Amendment, which denies visas to unionists from the Soviet bloc countries. Discussion to follow.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 6:30 PM

777 United Nations Plaza, 2nd Floor

New York City

Sponsored by the New York Association for American-Soviet Friendship.

Demanding Democracy

The Struggle Continues

**DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA YOUTH SECTION WINTER CONFERENCE**

FEBRUARY 17 TO 19

Columbia University, New York City

**Join** Ruth Messinger, Michael Harrington, Philip Agee, Shakoor Aljuwani, Barbara Ehrenreich, Irving Howe and student and youth activists from around the country to discuss issues such as reproductive freedom, campus racism and foreign policy. Housing provided.

Pre-registration $20. IDS Youth Conference, 15 Dutch Street #500, New York, NY 10038. Call Elissa McBride at (212) 962-0390.

**EVENTS PLACEMENT FORM**

**Information**

$1.50 per word. 30-word minimum.

Discounts: 2nd run 40% off.

Deadline: Wednesday, 26 days before cover date.

**Placement**

Enclosed is a check for: $_____ for _____ words

Organization: _____

Address: _____

_____

Clip form, attach ad copy and send to The Nation, Events, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

Event ads are also accepted over the phone, at (212) 242-8400, ext. 213.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

masterful ironies: "Halloween Parade," set over a bouncy little riff, looks at AIDS and the ghosts conjured up for him by that annual Village street blowout; "Dirty Blvd." presents Reed's view of life in the drug-and-sex netherworld; "Beginning of a Great Adventure" is a wry and relentless look at the tangled motives for having kids.

But even the best songs here are hobbled by a kind of musical aphasia. There's no tension, ironic or otherwise, between Reed's monotone vocals and the insipid arrangements. *New York* sounds like a collection of demos with the redeeming vitality somehow drained out. □

# LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 254*)

military regimes employed counterinsurgency measures, statements and actions by the army's current leaders show that it has moved beyond the haphazard, if extremely bloody, tactics of dictators such as Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt (1982-83) to establish a long-term corporate policy for civilian control. That policy does not depend on any single general or necessitate a military official in the presidency, a significant change in military thinking. The recently created Center for Strategic Studies for National Stability, the army's third think tank dedicated to preparing officers to participate in the country's economic and social decisions, also provides training for business and political leaders to enable the military to influence key civilian sectors. Those I interviewed in Guatemala, including people who work with the poor and on behalf of human rights, agreed that these developments reflect a more complex and dangerous stage in the militarization of Guatemala.

Although there have been protests, some massive, they have had no effect, as shown by the Cerezo government's determination to maintain a neoliberal economic policy and its refusal to attend to the demands of the Mutual Support Group by accounting for the disappeared. However much I sympathize with GAM, it does not have a large following in Guatemala. I also question the importance of protests unless they are sustained. Guatemala has experienced many such protests in the past thirty-five years with no effect save more repression. Meanwhile, human rights violations, including assassinations and disappearances, are again on the rise. I would like to be as optimistic as Stix in believing that groups like GAM can pressure the government to change, but Guatemala's recent bloody history is not encouraging. Moreover, my interviews in different parts of Guatemala indicated that popular movements are not strong enough or sufficiently united to sustain a challenge to the military—any more than they were in 1980, before the last bloodbath. USAP, for example, has had difficulty mobilizing unions behind its calls to strike, as was evident last year when it obtained only minimal support for progressive work stoppages to protest the government's noncompliance with a labor agreement. Union leaders say that fear of military retaliation was the principal reason workers failed to participate in the stoppages. The Guatemalan poor may be more aware of the reasons for their repression, but they are also more afraid.

As to the guerrillas, my informants—including guerrilla sympathizers and former guerrillas in the regions mentioned by Stix, as well as representatives of respected human rights groups and Guatemalan refugees in southern Mexico—agreed that most, but not all, of the guerrillas' military organizations were destroyed in the early 1980s. That the guerrillas have regrouped and are active in such regions as El Petén and Ixcán were noted in my article. However, my informants maintained that guerrilla incursions were for defensive purposes, to show the local populace that they were still active. True, guerrilla activity is at the highest level since 1981-82, but compared with the situation then, when the guerrillas were poised to lead a nationwide rebellion, it is still minor.

Now in reply to Susanne Jonas's question, yes, I have been in Guatemala since mid-1988 and, no, I didn't miss the anger in the cities, or the countryside, against the government's economic policies. But the people have long been angry about economic policies that favor the rich. Protests, even when they involve thousands of people, become more than a news wire item only when they achieve some change, are sustained or reflect a significant growth in popular movements. Contrary to Jonas's claims, the evidence indicates that the movements have only begun to regroup. The recent rise in human rights violations is also significant, because such violations usually mean the military is unlikely to countenance more "ferment."

Some of the people in Mexquital risked their lives for the community in the past, and a few do so today. But the leaders of the antimilitary grass-roots groups in Mexquital with whom I spoke said theirs was a long, hard and often frustrating struggle against the apathy and suspicion of many of the slum's inhabitants. They cited specific cases, such as the community's failure to rally wholeheartedly behind demands for adequate water and housing. Jonas, in contrast, makes sweeping generalizations about Mexquital. She also claims that I ignored the fact that repression responds to protests from below, although I emphasized the centuries-long resistance of the Indian majority. That resistance, however, has not been inspired by the guerrillas' call to revolution, which is of relatively recent origin; rather, it reflects the Indians' refusal to abandon their traditions, community and pride.

I did not say that the Guatemalan Army is invincible, but I did point out the many instruments of control at its disposal. Nor do I agree that the thesis of Jean-Marie Simon and Ken Anderson, both with extensive experience in documenting human rights violations in Guatemala, is overly deterministic. They reported the situation as it developed and did not make unproven assumptions about the political opposition.

Obviously the army can never pacify the country so long as it uses repressive methods that encourage rebellion. But insurgencies can continue for decades without ever threatening the central government. If there is a lesson to be learned from the historical limits of the counterinsurgency state, it is that conditions are different in each country even though many states use similar counterinsurgency methods. Thus the Nicaraguan revolution cannot serve as a textbook for rebellion in El Salvador; nor is the situation in the Philippines the same as that in Guatemala. During a recent visit to the Philippines some people, mostly foreigners, spoke of the parallels with Guatemala because of massacres and disappearances. But no one I interviewed believed that the Guatemalan experience was central to the Filipinos' struggle, which corresponds to the Philippines' own history, traditions and culture.

As to the E.G.P., I reported the assessment of peasant sympathizers and former members in areas where the guerrillas are active, an assessment supported by ample published documentation and by Jonas herself in admitting to "serious errors" and "painful lessons." She may be more interested in a tract on guerrilla tactics, but I think most Guatemalans are primarily concerned with poverty and military repression—the subjects of my article.

I have the impression that Jonas, like Stix, would like to persuade us that the outlook for the revolutionaries is better than it actually is, and that they have a larger mass following than exists. I can understand making such claims as a political tactic, but as a journalist my first concern is to try to report the facts. As I saw it, and I saw a lot of Guatemala on my last visit, the seeds of rebellion are there, but they need a great deal of careful nurturing. A pragmatic assessment of the military's capabilities is crucial for the protection of the popular movement. Otherwise, the people will be slaughtered, as they were in the early 1980s when overly optimistic revolutionaries misjudged their enemy.

*Penny Lernoux*

*The Nation* welcomes letters—typed, double spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Longer letters may be edited for reasons of space. Our policy is to publish as many letters as space permits, but inevitably a backlog develops, so please bear with us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFIED.

*While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive,* The Nation *wishes its readers to know: we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

## APARTMENTS DESIRED

**UNDERPAID,** quiet and responsible interns seek low-rent apartment share, sublet or house-sitting arrangements anywhere in New York City starting right away. Call Vania Del Borgo at (212) 242-8400.

## BED AND BREAKFAST

**CAMBRIDGE NEAR HARVARD.** Homey Victorian. Friendly academic family. Safe, quiet, convenient, residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (617) 491-1306.

## BOOKLETS

**SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!**

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but **ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE!** Send $5 to Abelard Reuchlin Foundation, Box 5652-B, Kent WA 98064. For details please send SASE

## BOOKS

**"THE GAME IS OVER"** The crash of American capitalism in the 1990s. A personal guidebook for living in Bankrupt America. $5, Pioneer Publications, 3676 Princeton, Medford OR 97504.

## BOOK SEARCH SERVICE

**Wm CAXTON BOOK SEARCH,** PO Box 1050, Evanston, IL 60204-1050. Send your phone and address with wants. (312) 475-1800.

## CASSETTES

**DISSENTING VOICES**

**Michael Parenti:** Superpatriotism
**Daniel Schorr:** Media and Politics
**John Stockwell:** C.I.A. Secret Wars

$8 each cassette. Write for free catalog. David Barsamian, 1814 Spruce, Boulder, CO 80302.

**EDWARD SAID/MERON BENVENISTI.** *Two Views of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.* Tapes of this *Nation*/New School event are now available. Each 2-tape set is $20. Send check or money order payable to The Nation Institute to: "Two Views," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

## COMPUTERS

**LONG-TIME *NATION* EMPLOYEE,** now computer consultant, is selling IBM-compatible computers and providing computer training and support to *Nation* readers in the New York City area. Special rates for nonprofit organizations and those on low incomes. Call Mark Rausher at Present Day Products (718) 934-2861.

## COUNSELING

**PERSONAL PROBLEMS?** Caring, mature, experienced clinical psychotherapist will help you resolve them. Short-term treatment where possible. Sliding scale. East midtown. (212) 466-6775.

## COUNSELING

**WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST,** 20+ years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity, New York City. (212) 582-5508.

## EDUCATION

CASA NICARAGÜENSE DE ESPAÑOL

**All Nicaragua is a school!**

A SPANISH LANGUAGE, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL STUDY CENTER IN MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

Study Spanish While You Learn About the Nicaraguan Revolution First Hand!

CASA NICARAGÜENSE DE ESPAÑOL
Offers you the Opportunity to:

- Study Spanish four hours daily at all levels.
- Live with a Nicaraguan family.
- Meet with representatives from revolutionary organizations.
- Travel to different regions of Nicaragua.

For further information, please send self-addressed stamped envelope to:

2330 W. THIRD ST., Ste. 4,
LOS ANGELES, CA 90057
(213) 386-8077

YEAR-ROUND 2-8 WEEK SESSIONS

**LEARN SPANISH, QUICHE, MAM** in Guatemala. One-on-one, 5 hours daily, family living, seminars, field trips. Casa Xelaju de Español. Box 11264, Milwaukee, WI 53211. (414) 372-5570.

**WORLDWIDE EDUCATION**

The Institute for International Cooperation and Development's 1989-90 Global Education courses include travel, study and solidarity work in: CENTRAL AMERICA & the CARIBBEAN, CHINA & the PHILIPPINES, SOUTH AMERICA, the USA and the SOVIET UNION. Solidarity courses in MOZAMBIQUE and NICARAGUA begin in April and June '89
2 months preparation: group-building, language, history, politics, documentation and skill training
5 months travel, study and work;
2 months public education in the USA

For free brochure: IICD
P.O. Box 1063, Amherst, MA
01004 Tel. 413/268-9229

**SHARPEN YOUR INTERCULTURAL AWARENESS** with a 3- to 6-week experiential education program in India, Bali, Rosebud Sioux reservation or Toledo Elderhostel. Lisle Fellowship, 433-A W. Sterns, Temperance, MI 48182. (313) 847-7126.

**¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!**

Learn on your own with audio-cassette courses used by U.S. State Dept. Programmed for easy learning. 47 languages in all. Comprehensive. Call or write for free catalog. **1-800-243-1234**

**AUDIO-FORUM®** Dept. 526 Guilford, CT 06437

## EDUCATION

**SPEAK SPANISH.** Total immersion program. Established 1960. Cuernavaca Language School. Apdo. 4-254, 62430 Cuernavaca, Mexico. Telephone: (73) 15-46-43.

**FRANCAIS INTENSIF** in Paris or southern France. Courses in small groups, all levels. Also workshops (theater, yoga . . . ). Langue Onze, 15 Rue Gambay, 75011, Paris, France, tel. 43.48.22.87

## GAMES & PUZZLES

**THE NATION'S BEST** Puzzles! Book 5 of these British-style crosswords, $5.50 postpaid. Write E.S. Lewis, 32 Pembroke Avenue, Acushnet MA 02743.

## GARAGE DESIRED

**NATION WORKER** seeks garage for medium-sized car in Brooklyn, Queens, or any New York City area, beginning late spring. Rent negotiable. Please call JoAnn, most hours, at (212) 242-8400.

## MERCHANDISE

**GOVERNMENT SEIZED** vehicles from $100. Fords. Mercedes. Corvettes. Chevys. Surplus. Buyers Guide. 1-(805) 687-6000, Ext. S-3596.

**NO MORE BU--SH--!** For a Bush-beating bumper sticker, send $1 & SASE to PO Box 1159, Berkeley, CA 94701.

**"OLLIE NORTH FOR PRISON INMATE"** bumper stickers. $2 each. PO Box 488, Huntington Beach, CA 92647.

## MISCELLANEOUS

**RUSSIAN TYPEWRITERS,** Brand new Erika portable, $225. Also, English and other language typewriters. Russian language instruction. Jacob Sachs, 251 West 98th Street, New York, NY 10025. (212) 222-6683.

## ORGANIZATIONS

**NATIONAL WRITERS UNION.** Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

**WOULD YOU LIKE** to be more closely involved with *The Nation*? Join The Nation Associates and get behind the scenes at America's oldest weekly journal of opinion. Call Sandra Zickefoose (212) 242-8400.

THE NATIONAL
HEMLOCK SOCIETY
P. O. Box 11830
Eugene, OR 97440-3900
Telephone: 503/342-5748

*Voluntary Euthanasia for the Terminally Ill*

## PERSONALS

**PERSONALS ADVERTISERS**

A Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $10 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

**MIDWEST SM, 27,** leftist, vegetarian, nonsmoker, attractive, interests include music (primarily classical, jazz), politics (obviously) racquet sports, chess, hiking, travel. Seeking compatible SF, 20s. Nation Box 508.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFIED.

## PERSONALS

**CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER**
links compatible singles concerned about peace, justice, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: Box 555-A, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

**MEET CHRISTIAN SINGLES.** Local, worldwide. By phone or mail. Free brochure/samples: 1-(800) 323-8113, Ext. 477.

**SWM,** gentle, loving, domestic; seeks big, strong, aggressive, professional black woman 35-65. Relationship/marriage. Nation Box 505.

**WF** seeks romance, creative experience, music, peace, with WM 70-75. PO Box 9095, Berkeley, CA 94709.

**SJM LAWYER, 40,** progressive politics, quiet, gentle, good-natured, nonsexist; likes travel, long walks, exotic food, good films; seeks woman, 30-45, to share interests, possible long-term relationship. NYC-NJ. Nation Box 509.

**RITE OF SPRING!** Celebrate the changing of the seasons with a Personals ad in *The Nation*. For a mere $1.50 per word we will introduce you to our audience of 250,000 hardy perennials who survived the Reagan winter. Meet them as they prepare to outblossom Bush. **Rite of Spring Offer:** Pay for 2 runs, get a 3rd run free! Simply write "Spring Discount" on our classified order form. A Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service are available for a 1-time $10 charge added to the cost of your ad. **Deadline:** March 8.

**If responding to a Nation Box number** send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

## POSITIONS AVAILABLE

**COMMUNITY JOBS,** socially responsible jobs and internships. Subscribe to the only nationwide newspaper listing, covering lobbying, organizing, environment, disarmament and more. $12/6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1205N, 1516 P Street NW, Washington, DC 20005.

**DSA YOUTH ORGANIZER NEEDED.** Recruit, mobilize, educate student activists. Long hours. Extensive travel. Application deadline March 17. Begins June 1. Send résumé, cover letter to: Jennifer O'Connor, Democratic Socialists of America, 15 Dutch Street, #500, New York, NY 10038. (212) 962-0390.

## POSITIONS AVAILABLE

**WORK, TRAVEL IN NICARAGUA.** Architects and Planners in Support of Nicaragua offer: Technical Assistance - volunteer jobs in many disciplines; Delegations - learn about Nicaragua Libre first hand (next: early June 1989); Building Brigades - Building in rural communities, 6 wk periods from Dec. to June. Call (213) 455-1340; write APSNICA, P.O. Box 1151, Topanga, CA 90290.

**AIRLINES NOW HIRING.** Flight Attendants, Travel Agents, Mechanics, Customer Service. Listings. Salaries to $105,000. Entry level positions. Call (805) 687-6000 Ext. A-3596.

**ACTIVIST CAMPAIGN.** Voter Revolt, California's leading citizen group that beat a $70 million insurance-industry campaign and passed the Ralph Nader-backed insurance reform, Prop. 103, has organizing positions available. Defend 103 and help build for future campaigns to protect citizens against corporate abuse. $15,000-$24,000, plus health. Summer jobs also, $225-$350/week. Voter Revolt, Box 2059, Santa Monica, CA 90406. (213) 395-7622. Attention: Jennifer Frank.

**GOVERNMENT JOBS** $16,040-$59,230/year. Now hiring. Your area. (805) 687-6000 Ext. R-3596 for current Federal list.

**NATIONAL MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL** seeks full-time Program Staffperson to carry out national program plus administrative work. Three years' peace and justice organizing experience required. Also seeking full-time Fundraising Coordinator. Prior political organizing experience required. $18,000 both jobs. Benefits. Résumé and writing sample to: MFS, 45 John Street, #811, New York, NY 10038.

**THE INSTITUTE FOR COMMUNITY ECONOMICS** works for economic justice while providing technical assistance and financing to community development projects in low-income communities. Several positions are now open. Staff live in residential community and receive modest compensation. Write: Coordinating Team, ICE, 151 Montague City Road, Greenfield, MA 01301.

**FRENCH TO ENGLISH TRANSLATOR WANTED.** Articles on philosophy, social science, Marxism. Independent publisher. (415) 525-0276.

**REGISTERED NURSE** needed for Massachusetts progressive children's summer camp. Call collect (212) 255-6283.

**SUMMER STAFF, ADULT/YOUNG ADULT (16+)** for Conference Center. World Fellowship, Conway, NH 03818. (603) 356-5208.

## POSITIONS AVAILABLE

**ASSISTANT TO CIRCULATION DIRECTOR.** Part time, 1 to 2 days a week at a small but very busy international art magazine. Responsibilities include: dealing with subscription problems, processing orders, and some statistical analysis. Experience helpful but not essential. Good opportunity to learn about circulation from former *Nation* Circulation Director. Contact: Stephen Soule, *Graphis*, 141 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016. (212) 532-9387.

**STAFF PERSON** needed half time, Medicines for Central America Fund. Responsibilities: ordering medicines, fundraising, bookkeeping, communication with groups. Call (718) 965-1057 or write PO Box 7436, FDR Station, New York, NY 10150.

## POSITIONS DESIRED

**USEFUL WORK WANTED.** Research N.Y.C. area preferred. SPSS. French, other languages. 2 M.S. degrees economics/agricultural journalism. Work/study experience India/China/Zimbabwe. Nation Box 279.

## PUBLICATIONS

**TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN** available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

**LEFT BUSINESS OBSERVER**—a monthly newsletter on economics and politics worldwide. "A salutary antidote to the economic mush in mainstream periodicals."—Alexander Cockburn. One year $18. 3-issue trial $6. Left Business Observer (Dept. N), 250 West 85th Street, New York, NY 10024.

**THE PEOPLE.** Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

**INVESTING FOR A BETTER WORLD,** An affordable, monthly source of information on socially responsible investing. $19.95/year. 1-(800)-548-5684, ext. 112.

**THE MIDDLE EAST SPECULUM REPORT.** Country by country analysis. Seven times yearly. $50. Amherst, MA 01004-0742. (413) 256-1388.

**ATTENTION HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS AND ACTIVISTS:** New report on Palestine. The 1988 National Lawyers Guild Report—*International Human Rights Law and Israel's Efforts to Suppress the Palestinian Uprising*—is now available! To order, send $10 (including postage and handling) to the NLG-Middle East Subcommittee. PO Box 4892, Washington, DC 20008.

**"100 YEARS OF *THE NATION*."** Former editor Carey McWilliams summarizes and evaluates *The Nation*'s history at the 100-year point. Reprinted from *Journalism Quarterly* (1965), this concise essay is available again. An invaluable introduction and complement to the historic 120th Anniversary Issue. $2.50 each to: *The Nation*, Reprints, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

**COPIES OF THE HISTORIC** 120th anniversary issue of *The Nation* (March 22,1986) are available for $4 each, $2.50 each for 10 or more (postpaid). Send order to: The Nation, Anniversary Issue, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

## REAL ESTATE

**GOVERNMENT HOMES** from $1 (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Call 1-(805) 687-6000 Ext. GH-3596 for current repo list.

## SATIRE

**HILARIOUS POLITICAL SATIRE CASSETTE:** Reagan's Greatest Hits. The press conferences you never heard, featuring Reagan's actual voice. $9.95. Daily Feed, 1377 K Street NW, Suite 662-N, Washington DC 20005, or charge by phone ($10.95), (800) 336-6546. (MC/VISA).

## CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

**Rates** $1.50 per word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display $60 per column inch.

**Deadline** Wednesday, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

**Discounts** Pay for 3 runs, get 1 more free. Pay for 7 runs, 3 more free. Pay for 15 runs, 10 more free.

**To** THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

**Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ weeks, plus _____ weeks free.**

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

**Payment must accompany order.** **Payment in U.S. currency.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## SERVICES

**CHELATION, GH-3,** heat pumps, Herbalife, ionizers, radiation shields, SADlites. Health-Wealth, 3045 N. Troy, Chicago, IL 60618. (312) 478-9526.

## SUMMER CAMPS

**CAMP THOREAU.** Send your child to a summer camp in the progressive tradition. Unique summer experience for children ages 7 to 15. Nurturant, integrated, cooperative, loving, only 115 campers. Write or call: Paul Milkman, 458, 14th Street, Brooklyn, New York 11215. (718) 768-4624.

## SUMMER RENTALS

**RHINEBECK PROGRESSIVE LAKEFRONT COLONY.** Children, pets welcome. 1- and 2-bedroom cottages. May 25 to September 5. Swimming, boating, fishing, near Bard, Omega, arts, films, music. (718) 380-3982.

## TRAVEL

**NICARAGUA.** Join our 8-day, people-to-people delegations for an experience you'll never forget. Leaving Los Angeles or meet us in Mexico City. Write for schedule. Office of the Americas, 1227 4th Street, Santa Monica, CA 90401. (213) 451-2428.

**LEARN TO** "Roam the World by Freighter," $3. TravLtips, Box 218U7A, Flushing, NY 11358. 1-(800) 872-8584. (718) 939-2400.

**SEE FOR YOURSELF!** Go BEHIND THE SCENES in the SOVIET UNION. Meet the people, see how they live, experience their culture. Unique, full-service programs now available. (800) 835-2246, Ext. 89.

## T-SHIRTS

**WILDLIFE T-SHIRTS**

© 85 Jim Morris

Support wildlife by wearing environmental t-shirts. (10% of profits go to environmental groups.) Many designs. $9.95 each. Heavyweight 100% cotton t-shirts in S, M, L, XL, in white, blue, silver, yellow. Sweats also, $21.45 each. **FREE CATALOG.**

**JIM MORRIS PO BOX 831 DEPT** WB9
**Boulder, CO 80306 (303-444-6430)**

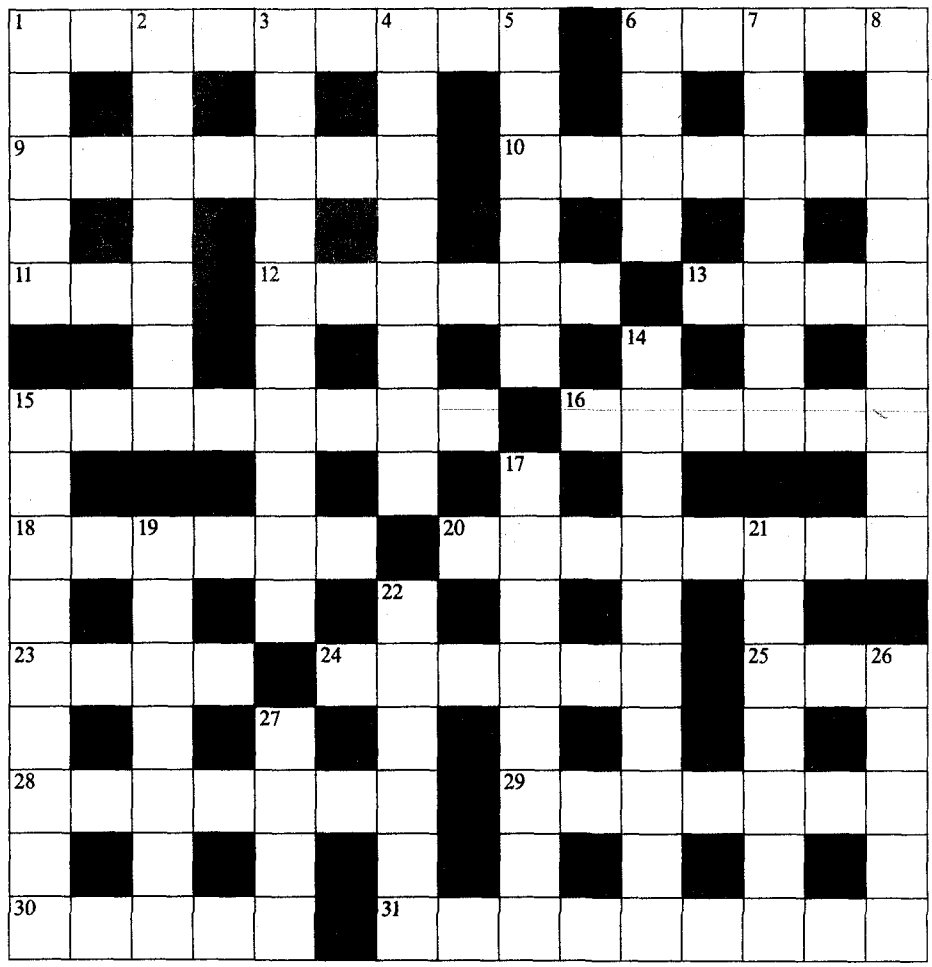
**Satisfaction guaranteed. Share the Earth!**


SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2230

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| U | P | L | I | F | T | ■ | S | T | A | N | H | O | P | E |
| N | ■ | I | ■ | I | ■ | A | ■ | I | ■ | O | ■ | P | ■ | A |
| T | O | G | G | L | E | S | ■ | R | O | M | P | E | R | S |
| O | ■ | H | ■ | C | ■ | A | ■ | E | ■ | A | ■ | N | ■ | T |
| W | A | T | C | H | ■ | W | A | D | ■ | ■ | D | R | A | K | E |
| A | ■ | E | ■ | ■ | ■ | H | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | I | ■ | R |
| R | U | R | A | L | ■ | O | F | F | I | C | E | R | S | ■ |
| D | ■ | ■ | ■ | E | ■ | L | ■ | O | ■ | O | ■ | ■ | ■ | S |
| ■ | A | B | E | D | N | E | G | O | ■ | W | A | H | O | O |
| O | ■ | A | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | T | ■ | ■ | ■ | A | ■ | F |
| P | E | T | T | Y | ■ | M | A | N | ■ | A | U | D | I | T |
| E | ■ | A | ■ | A | ■ | A | ■ | O | ■ | B | ■ | D | ■ | S |
| N | O | V | I | C | E | S | ■ | T | E | A | R | O | S | E |
| U | ■ | I | ■ | H | ■ | O | ■ | E | ■ | S | ■ | C | ■ | L |
| P | H | A | E | T | O | N | S | ■ | S | H | E | K | E | L |

# Crossword Puzzle No. 2231

FRANK W. LEWIS



### ACROSS

1 How some dogs and some children are scared, according to the mild (but dated) exclamation? (2,7)
6 The knack of doing things in the Miami manner, for example? (5)
9 Makes things run more smoothly, by certain application? (7)
10 and 20 Some had agitators, but your outfit might have come clean out of them. (7,8)
11 See 25
12 Be particularly desirous to see what caused Cleopatra's demise on the Emerald Isle? (6)
13 One of the crime syndicate, perhaps—especially when the head takes cover. (4)
15 What a ring maker might be doing. (8)
16 Hook in writing, for example? Blood, as well. (6)
18 Is born in a sorry state, though in a well-feathered nest. (6)
20 See 10
23 I threw this up in the night before Christmas. (4)
24 Tell all about expensive meat? (6)
25 and 11 The measure of wire allowed in the grain? (6)
28 The portrait painter has a bare sort by the vessel . . . (7)
29 . . . while the inventor has a little bit with Napoleon's marshal. (7)
30 They say it is made in haste, though we went around and awkwardly sat inside. (5)
31 One certainly didn't go in the van, and must have gone astray somewhere. (9)

### DOWN

1 What one frequently goes with requires keys, I hear. (If you have a degree, you obviously have a leg up!) (5)
2 The rate, when exchanged, shows here, possibly. (7)
3 Like a non-ferocious dog, engaged in disentanglement. (10)
4 Wrecked ships, and the hands are mentioned as being worse off in them. (8)
5 Fighting color around it, this is sometimes offered in return. (6)
6 Don't eat so quickly! (4)
7 The magic land comes up in a rain storm! What a state! (7)
8 An unyielding property with equipment I would shortly find where the monster supposedly hangs out. (9)
14 Extravagant, as they say, like the "spy in the sky." (4-6)
15 Evidently the hands belong to an Irish city, as an opener! (9)
17 Money paid for working with a lot of struggle—that's what makes fights! (5,3)
19 Get to make wagers? Inquire inside! (They carry quite a few things.) (7)
21 Is this trifling in comparison? On the contrary, Milan goes wild with it! (7)
22 One might have a love match with it, when set up around the hostelry in the same way. (6)
26 A thickness laid on, such as one might expect to find in the nest. (5)
27 The strong fiber of the Germanic tribe? (4)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WE ARE AMERICANS AND JEWS AND WE ARE PROUD TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW STATE OF PALESTINE. AT THIS HISTORIC TIME PLEASE JOIN US.

**This Statement of principles from the JEWISH COMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST has already been endorsed by over a thousand American Jews including Jewish Professors at over 100 Universities. Whether you are Jewish or not please join and support this vital effort.**

We are Americans and Jews and we come together at this time publicly to express our strong desire to see the United States take meaningful steps to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel and to support mutual recognition between Israel and the new State of Palestine.

For some years we have witnessed Israel increasingly deviating from political policies that we find acceptable and from moral values that we hold dear. These developments are not the responsibility of any particular political party in Israel but rather stem, in our judgement, from a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racialist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor, do we believe, should our country.

In recent years Israel has twisted away from basic commitments made at Camp David in 1978; annexed further territories, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, while continuing to expand settlements in all the occupied territories; and grotesquely invaded Lebanon, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians as well as hundreds of Israelis and Americans, and the taking as hostages of others.

Furthermore, Israeli policies and attitudes toward the Palestinian people have made it evident that only major changes in Israel's basic posture will allow for a peaceful political settlement with the Palestinians.

Israeli complicity in Irangate and Contragate coupled with Israel's employment of American Jews as spies against our country further underscore the growing dangers inherent in the current U.S.-Israeli relationship. The close identification in the public mind between Israel and Jews – an equation vigorously fostered by both the Zionist movement and the American Jewish lobby, which has come under its control – threatens to stigmatize Jews everywhere.

The recent acts of killings, beatings, curfews, expulsions and house arrests– all against unarmed Palestinians living in areas Israel has occupied for 21 years – further demonstrate that Israel has become a badly divided country with many unfortunate similarities to the situation that prevails in South Africa.

Our ancestors came to the United States because, as a result of their Jewishness, they were discriminated against and abused. The European experience culminated in the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. How tragic that in our own time the very State established by Jews in the aftermath of this evil has become a place where racialism, religious discrimination, militarism and injustice prevail; and that Israel itself has become a pariah state within the world community. Events taking place today are all too reminiscent of the pogroms from which our own forefathers fled two and three *generations ago – but this time those in authority are Jews and the victims are Moslem and Christian Palestinians.*

We believe that Israel's course could not be maintained but for the continuing financial, political, military and covert support of the U.S. government. And we fear that unless firm steps of disengagement from Israel are taken now our country might get dragged into a major war for which preparations are under way.

In addition, we believe that unless the United States takes serious steps to distance itself from Israel the Israelis will mistakenly continue to think that the course they are on is acceptable to the American people.

For all these reasons we believe the time has come to ***normalize*** the U.S. relationship with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American sponsorship of Israel is required. The unprecedented amounts of economic aid should be cut back over the next two to three years to much smaller levels. Furthermore, the considerable military and intelligence assistance should also be radically reduced.

Unfortunately, in recent years much the opposite course has been followed, and Israel has practically become a ward of the United States. We urge an urgent and open debate about the serious problems and dangers which have resulted from the current structure of U.S.-Israeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country. Consequently, we urge everyone, including our elected public officials, to resist the widespread inhibitions from speaking up about Israel, inhibitions which result from the severe financial, political and ideological pressures often brought to bear against those who do.

"When, in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people..."
WHAT IS THIS NONSENSE?'
PALESTINE INDEPENDENCE
DARZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

We further believe that the time is overdue for negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO, which is quite *clearly the chosen representative for the* great majority of Palestinians – negotiations that should quickly lead to full recognition of the Palestinian State in today's occupied territories and reasonable security guarantees for all parties. In the security guarantees we think our country should participate; but no longer in the financing and supporting of the kinds of policies Israel has been pursuing. The continual oppression and denial of Palestinians of their right to self-determination is an injustice which has become intolerable not only to those demonstrating for their freedom in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and throughout Israel itself.

The citizens of Israel, of course, will ultimately choose their own country's destiny. But at the very least the citizens of the United States should stop financing and supporting policies that are contrary to the principles and values we hold precious as Americans and Jews.

The important statement of principles has been published in recent months in *The Nation, The New York Review of Books, The Christian Science Monitor, The Progressive, L.A. Weekly* and *The Congressional Record.*

**For updated information or requests call (202) 362-5266 at any time**

*Please help! Your support and contribution, whether you are Jewish or not, are vitally needed to republish this historic Statement of principles and take further steps to have a growing impact on these important issues.*

Please send to: JCOME P.O. Box 18367 Washington, D.C. 20036

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Home Phone: (  )_____ Work Phone: (  )_____

Affiliation *(if any)* _____

Contribution: $25___ $50___ $100___ $_____ Jewish:___ Not Jewish:___
*(other)*

PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN THIS FORM TODAY

*Copies of this Statement and other JCOME information will be sent to you*

**The Executive Committee of JCOME :**

*Professor Yigal Arens*
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, CA

*Rabbi Leonard Beerman*
Los Angeles, CA

*Professor Joel Beinin*
Middle East History, Stanford Univ.
Palo Alto, CA

*Mark Bruzonsky*
Writer and lawyer, Former Washington Associate of World Jewish Congress
Washington, DC

*Rabbi Susan Einbinder*
New York, NY

*Professer Richard Falk*
International Law, Princeton University
Princeton, NJ

*Professor Herbert Hill*
University of Wisconsin at Madison; Former Labor Director NAACP
Madison, WI

*Professor Zachary Lockman*
Middle East History, Harvard Univ.
Cambridge, MA

*Professor Seymour Melman*
Columbia University
New York, NY

*Professor Don Peretz*
Middle East Studies, State Univ. of N.Y.
Binghamton, NY

*Rabbi Michael Robinson*
Croton-on-Hudson, NY

*Henry Schwarzschild*
Jewish Peace Fellowship; New York, NY

*Professor Steven Schwarzschild*
Philosophy and Judaic Studies
Washington University; St. Louis, MO

*Richard Walden*
Attorney
Los Angeles, CA

**Jewish Committee on the Middle East**
**P.O. Box 18367 • Washington, DC 20036**
**(202) 362-JCOME – 24-hours**
**(202) 362-6965 – Fax**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED